

Philosophical Dissertation

UPON THE

INLETS

TO

Human Knowledge,

IN A

LETTER

FROM

A Gentleman in the Country to his Friend
at LONDON.

The Second EDITION.

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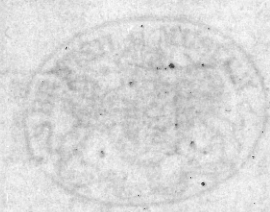
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UPON THE

I N L E T S

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Human Knowledge, &c.

Dear S I R,

IT was not from any want of Zeal to comply with your Desires, that I hesitated for some Time in promising to lay before you in Writing what I had said to you t'other Morning over a Dish of Tea, about the Inlets of Knowledge to the Human Mind, much less was it mere Indolence, and Aversion from the Trouble of Writing what I had talked over ; for the whole Matter may be stated by naming the several Inlets, or at most by just hinting at the different Kinds

of Notices which arrive at the Mind by the different Avenues leading to it : Although I own, at the same Time, that this Subject may be extended to what Length and Bulk one pleaseth, so as to take in every Part of Learning, every thing known or knowable ; and, to own the Truth frankly, here lay, here lies the Difficulty with me, how to handle a Question, which I am amazed should ever be made one, and that every Man living doth not agree in all the real Ways of his coming at Knowledge, and that all other Men necessarily came by theirs in the same Manner, whatever Variety there may be, or different Degrees, as well in the several Sciences as the Proficiency of those who study them ; nor can I conceive any other Hypothesis how it should be so, unless Men imagine it unlawful to inclose Commons, and that every where else, as well as in *Parnassus*, *difficile est proprie communia dicere* ; or that they overlook and despise what lies always before them and under their Feet, and gaze about for something sublimely raised above the common Reach and View. What else could possibly have brought innate Ideas on the Stage ? If indeed any among the Ancients ever held them in the Sense in which Mr. *Locke* hath overthrown them ; the Ancients meant no more by their *Κανονες Εννοιας* than such clear Axioms as must be assented to as soon as laid before, and considered by a reasonable Mind ;

Mind ; and whether a Number of Moderns, considerable enough to have made it a Sort of Principle worth attacking, ever held innate Ideas as produced by Mr. *Locke*, is more than I am Critick enough to determine ; but whether it was a Giant of Straw dressed up by others, or by the Man who has hacked it to Pieces, it is effectually slain, and a Trophy erected with its Spoils.

It is now time to introduce Mankind into the World, and such Parts of it into his Acquaintance as are to make up his Property in Knowledge, in whose Realms there is a much greater real Difference and Disproportion between their several Acquisitions, than in their Possessions of any other Species of Dominion or Wealth. For after all the imaginary Enjoyment of mighty Empires, the Thousandth Part of which the Monarch never beheld, and of vast Treasures of which he can only use his own personal Dividend either of Food, Lodging, or Raiment, and if he attempts to enlarge his Wants artificially, to have the Privilege of supplying them with all the Contrivances of Luxury, he doth but waste and consume both, and finds his Pleasure, Health and even Wealth too, run away in the vain Pursuit : Whereas, in the Fields of Knowledge, one Man may, and some actually do accumulate the Portions of many Thousands, and the more such an one collects, the more he enjoys every Part of it, each
Addition

Addition giving new Strength and Beauty to what he had before; but in both Kinds there are Misers to be found, who hoard up without any View of Use or Communication, although in the Exercise of Wealth consists its real Pleasure as well as Worth; and that in Science one cannot be a Spendthrift, but the more he bestows on others, the more he improves his own Stock.

I have long thought that in most Cases, and you seemed to agree with me in this Instance, Truth is not only discovered but proved by a bare State of the Fact, by just tracing the Methods which Nature either takes or requires in her Actions, and how far her full Growth and Capacity of Knowledge doth or may be made to extend.

There are three Inlets, Canals or Vehicles which serve to convey Notices of different Sorts to the human Mind; the Senses, which furnish us with the Ideas of corporeal Things, the Instincts, which give the first Motion to our Affections both of Desire and Aversion, and artificial Language, which lays before our Understanding all that it doth or can know of speculative, spiritual or abstracted Subjects; and as each of these three Means of acquiring Notices of Things so intirely different in their several Natures, are absolutely necessary to be considered in a philosophical Inquiry into the Faculties and Improvement of the Mind, so we cannot conceive any other

other Way how our ordinary Means of Knowledge may be multiplied, or in other Words, how to make Ideas or Notions of new Properties, Essences, or what else you please, spring up in the Mind, and as little can we conceive how the proper Objects can be transmitted to the Mind but by the respective Inlets or Conduit Pipes appropriated to each; we see plainly that the Affections and the Understanding require something very different from mere Ideas of Sensation to furnish them with their Objects, with their peculiar Acquisitions, as much at least as Sounds, Colours and Tastes require three Senses of very different Natures, all of them and their Objects utterly inexplicable by each other, which it is the Scope of this little Essay to prove.

We bring our Senses and some of our Instincts at least, into the World with us; a new-born Infant stares at a Candle and starts at a Noise, and none can doubt but the mixt Appetite between Thirst and Hunger, for its Nurse's Breast is as sharp in it, as either of them are at any Time afterwards, when they come to be split into two very different ones for solid and liquid Food, when they become necessary for a larger Body, and stronger Constitution fit for vigorous Exercise or hard Labour.

I must obviate one Objection, or at least clear my Notion from a Mistake, which some may be apt to make, as if Hunger, Thirst, and all the other Instincts were only
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Sensations, and so not to be distinguished from the Senses and their Ideas. But till I come to treat of the Instincts by themselves, it shall suffice to observe here, that Ideas of Sensation are raised by the Presence of the Objects, and the Impressions made by them on the respective Senses; so that there cannot possibly be a negative, infinite, speculative, abstracted, general, partial, consequential or future Idea of actual Sensation; for an Idea of Sensation must be direct, immediate and present; whereas these strong Appetites are excited often by the Absence, always by the Want of the Object, whose Application never fails to prorogue the Appetite till another Call of Nature for its Return. But if the impulsive Appetite for Food cannot be rescued from being only a mere Idea of Sensation, we must reckon Hunger, Thirst, and Taste to be the self same Thing, and synonymous Terms for one another; but sure the Dog's eating Grass when he is Sick, the Ibis, and many other Instances from whence Physicians have learned many Things and Surgeons more, we may be allowed to range under the Class of Instincts. Every Bird, every Insect, the Beaver and many other Kinds are better Architects than many Nations both ancient and modern, who arrive no farther than a miserable Cabin, and others, as *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, who do not rise so high. Nay, Nations have lost it
and

and recovered it, as *Italy*, others as *Egypt* and *Greece*, who long excelled in Architecture, have lost it intirely, without Hope or Desire of recovering it. Nothing that is natural was ever lost, whatever is capable of Loss or great Alteration is artificial, and as it was introduced by Instruction, and continued by Culture, so it died on the ceasing of either of these, on its Parent or Fosterer's withdrawing. Besides, aversive Instincts or natural Antipathies, which are absolutely necessary for the Preservation of all the brute Species to seek their proper Food and avoid Poison, cannot justly be called Ideas of Sensation. But above all, is it not absurd to reckon that irresistible Storgè, which is so powerful as to make the Hare expose it self between the Dog and its young Brood, and the Hen to retire last from the Kite, only an Idea of Sensation? Of which Sense is it the Idea? But perhaps they will call this last a Passion, not an Appetite; let them do so, the Animal Passions are as much Instincts as the Appetites, and as necessary for the Support of the several Species in which they are placed, and all of them equally prior and consequently foreign to Instruction and Culture, as likewise different from Ideas of Sensation. And were it any Part of our present Business, we might take notice of the absurd Rant of the Stoicks with their Apathy, which, besides the Impossibility of it, would be incompatible with

the Subsistence or Life of the Animal whose Nature and Welfare is provided for by answering the true final Cause of its Instincts. There have been little Pretenders to Refinement, who have reduced the Senses to one, and made the other four only different Modifications of Feeling; another, with equal Wit, will multiply the Senses into as large a Number as ever you please, or can find Words to express, and make every Act of Approbation or Dislike, which either the Mind or Body can exert, to be a different Sense; in which Case all the Languages in the World could not furnish us with Terms enough to call the hundredth Part of them by, such an infinite Number of Tastes (another very equivocal Word) could never be supplied with Names to distinguish them all cleverly from one another; how luxuriant are some Men's Fancies? How hard it would be to determine which of these Men of Genius deserved the Bays?

For the first Year of Human Life, the Child sees without much heeding them, the several Objects about it, but for its Food, which is necessary for its Subsistence, Nature has furnished it with a most sharp Instinct, which will neither let it nor its Nurse forget its Wants, by the Language of crying, which proclaims them. After a few Months Children begin to laugh and shout, and utter the several inarticulate Voices, which express the several Instincts of Joy,

Joy, Pain, Sorrow, Fear, &c. which, by the bye, are the same among all the many Myriads of Men who ever have lived, or ever shall live, in all the Ages and Nations of the World, and these constitute the only natural Language; for Words must be acknowledged for artificial and arbitrary Signs of Things, whether sensible or speculative, but with this Difference, that they are declarative of the First, and introductive of the Second, as I shall soon prove. And whether Children could ever acquire this artificial Language, without Pains taken with them, and repeated Culture, we need not run to *Herodotus* for *Psammeticus's* Project, nor to *Purchas* for the same, tried much later by *Ecbar* the Great Mogul, of having Children bred up by Mutes, to find out what Language they would speak; both which Experiments ended, as they necessarily must, in their not speaking any: Let us but consider how we were taught, and how we teach our Children to speak and know, and we shall find how the Matter stands, as well as if we knew all that has passed in every Age and Climate of the World.

At about a Year old Children begin to call their Parents by two Words, which have been repeated to them many thousand Times before they could retain them, or get their Tongues to form their Sounds. For a few Years more, they are taught the Names of such Things as they usually see or are conversant about, and

when they have learned a competent Number of them, they are taught to affirm and deny, which is a little Essay towards Grammar, and forming a Proposition, for it is the *Copula* which gives a determinate Signification, and connects the Subject and Predicate into a Meaning, Words being otherwise loose and of no Relation to Knowledge of any Kind; and therefore the first Thing which Children generally are, or possibly can be taught, that looks towards Science, or what is called Morals, is the Nature of *Yes* and *No*, with the Difference between *Truth* and a *Lie*. As Children improve in their stock of Words and the Use of them, other Things are taught them, even all the Sciences according to the different Degrees of Capacity, Opportunity, the Diligence of Teachers and their own.

Now, Dear Sir, I have laid the three Inlets of Human Knowledge before you, and might therefore break off here, for I cannot help thinking, that as it does to me, so it must appear to every one who will consider the Fact as it really lies in the Order of Nature; and if I am to go on and prove what I imagine to be self-evident, where shall I stop? What Mediums shall I search for by which to prove it? But since you put me under a Necessity of doing it, for such you tell me there is, to remove the common Prejudice against any Thing that pretends to call in Question the sufficiency of Mr. *Locke's* Principle

ciple of Ideas of Sensation, for the sole Harbinger as well as Magazine of human Knowledge, I must submit to it ; and besides many Reasons which appear unanswerable to me, I will undertake to close this Letter with the Testimony of Mr. *Locke* himself, full to my Point in many Passages of that very celebrated Essay concerning the Human Understanding, in which he has endeavoured to establish the Senses in the rightful and sole Possession of furnishing the Mind with all that it is capable of receiving.

I own I cannot conceive how any Thing can be produced by all possible Combinations or Divisions of Ideas of Sensation, but single, compound or split Ideas of Sensation, Entia-rationis of all Sorts and Sizes, if indeed the Mind would ever, or ever could divert itself with that idle Sport of Imagination, had not Language convey'd some Notions into it before, and taught it how to consider Subjects in whole and in Part, how to join, divide, &c. Try this in your own Mind, and whether you can make any Thing out of Ideas of Sensation but Ideas of Sensation ; in order to which make this other Experiment, whether you can revolve an Idea of Sensation in your Mind without Words ; yes, you can, for you received it without the Mediation of Words, which were so far from being necessary to convey it to you, that all the Words in the World cannot convey a new original Idea of Sensation

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tion to any Person; the Case of Colours to a blind Man has been instanced much oftner than there have been blind Men, Sounds to the Deaf, &c. All that Words signify as to mere Ideas of Sensation is, that two Persons conversing together, who have learned the Words appointed to stand for such Things, the naming the Term refers the other to his own Memory for that Idea formerly known to him; which, if it were not, all the Philosophers and Orators in the Universe could not convey it to him. Now try again, whether you can make a Syllogism in your own Mind without Words, or even affirm or deny the plainest and most simple thing in Nature, viz. Man is, or, Man is not capable of Speech and Reason, both which must be taught him, the last by Means of the first, or, which is the same thing, he will not be able to make any Use of his Reason, which will lie in such close Abeyance to his Animal Instincts, that neither he himself nor any body else, will ever find out that he has any, without Instruction in, and by Language; for Culture by Speech is necessary to give us an authentick Title to our Reason, to put us in Possession of it, as well as to enable us to make use of it, by teaching us how to do so. If this then be so, as in fact I find it is, he who informs another may be properly said to think aloud to him, and he, who ruminates on what he has learned, may as properly be said to whisper

whisper to himself. And this makes me lament, that I did not consider this Matter thirty Years ago, when I was in an Age, though hardly ever in a Situation fit for Study, that I might have shortned the Time, if not have lessened the Fatigue of Learning a new Language, by confining my self to think in it as soon as I had got a tolerable List of Words by Heart. But this I may venture to affirm, that it cost *Cato* more Time and Pains to learn his *Latin* in the first Years of his Life, than *Greek* at Fourscore ; that it was the same with *Mithridates*, and all his Languages, and that every Scholar and Traveller learns the Language of another Age or Country in much less Time, and with much less Pains, than that which is called their Mother-Tongue.

Formerly, Men born deaf, were dumb of Course, and in the Courts of *Asiatick* Princes, where such are entertained in great Numbers, they are always called Mutes, as if the Defect lay in their Organs of Speech instead of those of Hearing. But then these Mutes were taught a visible Language by Signs, in which they can converse, and even recount Histories and every other Subject of Discourse ; I can't help giving you a remarkable Quotation from the latter End of the second Section, first Chapter and fourth Book of *Puffendorf de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*. *Lucianus de Saltatione, ubi memoratur exemplum Saltatoris, fabulam de Adulterio Martis*
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et Veneris ita saltando experimentis ut narrare videretur ; quem dein Barbarus quidam a Nerone petiit, ut sibi—Interpretis vice esset—Sic Dominus de Sancy, Legatus Gallicus in Turcia, retulit se vidisse duos Mutos, unum Natione Turcam, alterum Persam, sed qui se mutuo intelligere non possent, quod adversis signis et Gestibus uterentur, tunc repertum fuisse tertium Mutum, quis isti loco Interpretis inservire poterat ; by the bye the antient Dancing was altogether Dramatick, thus Cicero accuses *Clodius—quod Glaucum Saltasset*, and an old Greek Epigram, commending an excellent Dancer, says, that she seemed to be the very Person represented by her, and transformed as they were, *Ευλινος ως Λαφυν, λιθινος ως Νιοβη*. About an hundred Years ago, *Velasco* the Constable of *Castile's* Brother was taught to speak, though born deaf, and continuing so, by making him observe and practise the Motions which his Teachers made with their Tongue and Lips ; and I have seen some Instances of Persons so taught to speak, and use properly a great many Words, and by being taught to read and write, they might have been able to master more than one Language. About twenty or thirty Years after this Instance of *Velasco*, which was the first, as I take it, of the Kind, Doctor *Wallis* found out a Way of making some Persons hear, whose Ears were closed, or otherwise incapable of receiving Sounds, by shaving the Top of the Head, applying the

the Mouth to the Angle where the Sutures of the Skull meet, and speaking with a loud Voice, and by that Method taught them to speak likewise. But that was done by removing their Deafness in some Measure, and reaching the Nerves of Hearing by another and new Road, and is altogether different from the Language of the *Asiatick* Mutes, which is independent both of the Ears and Tongues of the Speakers. And as all these Methods are artificial and taught, they equally prove my Position, that every Language, and every way of uttering it is adventitious, that all Hieroglyphicks and Representations of Words are but different Kinds of Writing, therefore Words are as necessarily older than their Pictures, as every Original is before its Copy, as they are in every particular Man prior to his speculative Thoughts, they having been conveyed to him in that Vehicle; thus a deaf Man may be taught to see Thoughts in Words, and a blind Man to hear them, therefore these two are most justly termed the Senses of Discipline.

Now, Sir, give me leave to consider Nations and their Acquisitions in Science, as I have done it in particular Men, as *Florus* hath drawn his Epitome of the *Roman* History by the Periods of Man's Life. All those Nations, of whom we have authentick Accounts within the Historical Age, furnish us with the Arrival of Arts and Sciences among them.

Thucydides owns *Greece* to have been long barbarous, and we are sufficiently informed that it was as much so as either ancient *Thrace* or modern *Tartary*, till *Thales* the *Milesian* brought Literature and Civility among them from *Ionia* and the *East*. *A. Gellius* vouches the same thing, *Lib. 6. Chap. 17. Libros Athenis Disciplinarum Liberalium publice ad legendum præbendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus Tyrannus*, for *Pisistratus* and *Thales* were contemporaries. *Macedon* was looked on as barbarous long after the *Muses* had settled at *Helicon*, and *Minerva* at *Athens*. At two Periods the *Greeks* brought the Arts *Westward*, both Times by their own Misfortune. *Horace* frankly acknowledges that *Græcia capta ferum Victorem cepit et Artes intulit agresti Latio*, and indeed he could not deny it, for in every Part of Learning as well as Poetry, besides their running *ad Athenas Atticas*, the constant Rule was, *Exemplaria Græca nocturna versare manu versare diurna*. *Samos* and afterwards *Rhodes* produced many more learned Men for some Centuries, than are to be found in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and all the Provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, where the Arts once flourished so triumphantly, and from whence Colonies of Literature were sent out to stock the rest of the World. *India* had its *Gymnosophists*, *Persia* its *Magi*, and every *Scythian* might have been a Philosopher as well as *Anacharsis*, who would have gone in Quest of it,

it, and kept the same Company that he did. *Egypt* had two very long Periods of Glory in the Sciences; the first for some Ages under their old Monarchs, the second begun by the *Ptolemies*, and which lasted, with great Variety in its Degrees of Lustre, till the *Caliph Omar* entirely extinguished it in the Destruction of that immense Treasure of Learning the *Alexandrian Library*. *Cyrene* in *Lybia* afforded Men of Figure in the Sciences, and *Arabia* shone in Learning as in Arms for a Century or two; their Progress in both was rapid, but soon stopt short; and no Doubt there were Men of Learning in *Barbary*, who bore some Proportion to that noble Collection of Books in the Library of *Fez*, made by their great *Almansor*, who proceeded on Principles entirely different from the mad Enthusiasm of *Omar*. I do not doubt but *Portugal* and *Muscovy* will vie with other Nations in the Sciences, which they are now setting up; for they will grow in any Soil, will thrive under every Climate where they are propagated with equal Care.

That Part of *Europe* and *Africa* which constituted the *Roman Empire* after its Division into two, was to be civilized a second Time; the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and many other hard Names of our barbarous *Scythian* Ancestors, had defaced almost every Monument they found of *Greece*, *Rome* or *Humanity*; and they were hardly quite tame (as the perpetual lit-

tle Wars, Feuds and Massacres, between all the Noble Families in *Italy, France, Germany*, and, in short, every Country over which the *Northern* Inundation prevailed, sufficiently evidence) when the taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great, sent *Greece* again to reclaim the *Western Europe*. *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, received their learned Men and Books with open Arms, and founded that Noble Library of *Buda*, which fell with the City into the Hands of the *Turks*, was by them carried away, and after a long Abode in *Turkey*, was restored to the Emperor by a Peace; and though of all Furniture Books are most apt to suffer and be dropt on every Removal, yet so many of them remain as to make that of *Vien-na* one of the best Libraries in *Europe*. The *Medicis* soon after did the same at *Florence*, as far as the wealthiest private Family in the World could go; and *Leo* the tenth of that House gave them all Encouragement and good Reception at *Rome*. The *Palatine* Family ransacked all *Germany* for Books to make the largest Collection at *Hiedleberg*, which was then known to be any where, and which is now the chief Glory of the *Vatican*. *Francis* the first, whose Character was Vanity and Ambition; was told that it was no ill Road to Fame, to get Authors to speak well of one, and therefore Learning made its Way into *France* too in his Time, and under his

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Patronage. No Man ever did more to begin it in any Country, than Cardinal *Ximenes* did in *Spain*, by his Encouragement to Men of Learning, his splendid Edition of the King of *Spain's Polyglot Bible*, his building and endowing the University of *Alcala des Henares*, &c. but it hath stood stock still ever since. If *Greece* or *Egypt* were to be restored to Dominion, they must send to their Scholars in the *West*, to repay them Part of that Learning their Forefathers borrowed from theirs, and they must borrow Schoolmasters from the Posterity of their former Pupils. I shall say very few Words about our own Country. *Julius Cæsar* found us in savage Circumstances enough, but the *Roman Arts* were planted here with as good Success as in any other Colony; and *Agricola* had hardly reduced the whole Island, when, as *Juvenal* tells us, *de conducendo loquitur jam Rhetore Thule*; and about the same time *Martial*, in the 54th Epigram of his Eleventh Book, gives an high Character of the Accomplishments of a *British Lady*;

Claudia caruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita——

Romanam credere Matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.

So fast did Politeness travel among them; thus it continued at the same Pitch, till the
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Saxons extirpated or ravaged all, and gave us nothing in their stead, but a Set of independent Rules and Customs, to which mere Prescription has given the venerable Name and Force of Laws among us. No Body ever imagined that the *Lurdan* mended any Thing; every Peasant in the Nation can tell Stories of the *Danish* Tyranny, can account for the Original of pledging the Friend who drinks to him; and a Massacre of all the *Danes* in one Night, whether true or false, is equally the Tradition of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And yet *Denmark*, since that Time, hath produced two or three pretty good Scholars, and with the Help of *Iceland*, near half a Score. Nor is *Lapland* too cold for the Sciences, as both *Olaus Rudbeck*, the Father and Son witness: The first was not satisfied to produce himself as an Instance of it on any other Subject, unless he suborned an huge Deal of Learning to depose in three whole Folios, that *Scandinavia* was the original Glebe, where the first Men, and the Golden Apples of the *Hesperian* Gardens grew, with guardian Dragons; in these hyperborean Regions, he says, we must look for the true Site of the famed Atlantick Territory, and find the Pillars of *Hercules* at the Mouth of the *Sound*. The second hath bestowed a good large Quarto, called *Nora Samolad*, to shew that the *Lappish* Tongue can be traced up to, and lodged in the *Hebrew*, and that the Country is at this
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very Day, the most comfortable Portion of the Globe to dwell in, as producing much honefter Men, and better Strawberries than the fineft Parts of *Italy*; that there is not fo much as a Lawyer in the whole Province. I own, I fhould be apt to choofe that as the moft agreeable Country to live in, which offered me a Neighbourhood made up of the wifeft and worthieft Men in the World, in fpite of Soil, Climate, and all that Mr. *de Maupertuis* and his Brother Aftronomers can fay about their difmal Winter at *Tornea*; and, if *Olaus Rudbeck* the Younger can prove his Point as to the great Worth of the Inhabitants, I will much more readily take his Word for *Lapland's* being Paradise now, than all his Father's Erudition that it was fo about fix thoufand Years ago. From the *Normans* we received no good Thing but the long Bow-Conqueft and Oppreffion may prove but temporary Evils, they often wear out, and every Almanack tells us, that the *Saxon* Line was reftored in *Henry* the Second; but whether the tedious Forms, and intricate Chicane of the *Norman* Pleadings, have not been for fo many hundred Years, and ftill continue a moft grievous Yoke of Bondage on the Neck of Juftice, I refer my felf to the Speeches and Proceedings in Parliaments ever fince, in order to redrefs fome of them.

When Learning was dealing out among the Nations, when it was reputable and even beneficial

neficial to have it, we took our Share among the rest, and kept it a good While ; but I have been hearing some learned Men say, for these forty Years past, that it is going off our Stage faster than ever it came on, and I profess I can't help thinking that I perceive something of it my self, insomuch that I have now and then some splenetick Fits on that Score; therefore I intreat you to inform me, in this Distance that I am from all that belongs to Letters, whether there remain any tolerable Hopes that our Universities will be able or inclined to stand their Ground, and make Head for any Time against the boisterous Attacks of Ignorance and Malice from so many Quarters.

But this we can demonstrably gather, from the Progress of Learning among the different Nations of the World, that there is as direct a Traffick for Science, as for any other Commodity or Manufacture ; and in every Country, where History hath been tolerably preserved for any Time, we can trace the Country from whence, the Time when, and the Names of the Persons who imported those Sciences among them ; and, as in *England*, point out the several Periods of the Introduction, Progress, Declension, Death, and Revival of Literature among them. And, I think it would be a good Piece of Criticism to determine the original Climate of Literature, and assign its proper Longitude and Latitude, which, perhaps

haps, it would not be impossible to do, by tracing the Exportation and Importation of Sciences, Languages and Customs, from one Nation to another. And, if *Eastern, Western, Northern* and *Southern* Nations did agree (in such Sort of historical Memorials as they happened to have transmitted down to them) on any central Country whence these Things claimed their Extraction, however they came to spring up there, it would be no uncurious Point gained in the antiquarian Way; and would be, at least, an amusing Question solved as to the Chronology and Geography of Arts and Sciences. I will alter my Opinion, and not until then, when I meet with a Man who speaks a Language he never heard, was taught or studied, or a Nation where Learning grows up of it self, without sowing, planting and daily Culture. If Knowledge were the spontaneous Growth of the Soil, it would spring up in every Nation, although with ever so different Crops, as of *Egypt* or *Sicily* for Corn, in Respect of *Sweden* or *Norway*; no Nation could be quite destitute, nor could any ever lose it, nor do I see how any particular Man could be utterly ignorant; the very Term, Learning, shews how we came by our Knowledge, whatever it is. I shall certainly think my self in the right, while *Charlemagne, Alfred*, and other Founders of learned Seminaries continue in some Vogue, while Professors are entertained in them, and

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any of our Youth sent to Schools and Colleges to improve their Faculties therein. And, if the deep Learning of the Bench, and most copious Eloquence of the Bar, bear any Proportion (as no doubt they do) to the many magnificent Inns built for their Service, near twenty, I think, for Attorneys, beside the three grand ones of Court, Doctor's Commons, &c. Neither the *Lyceum*, *Stoa*, nor all the Academies of *Greece* and *Rome* ever sent out such Armies of Students, sufficient to conquer by downright Force all the Transgressors in any Nation, if their wonderful Prowess were once intirely directed that Way, their Forces united, all their Troops retained on the same side, under the Conduct of some future *Lycurgus*.

Let us now cast our Eyes over these three different Inlets [the Senses, the Instincts, and Language] which convey Notices to us, and see what each furnisheth us with for our Use.

Ideas of Sensation furnish the Brutes, and altogether untaught Men with Objects of Use only to their Instincts, to enable them to exert those for their Personal Preservation to provide them with the Means of Subsistence, and to avoid Dangers; and of this Truth the *New Holland* and *New Guinea* Savages are as evident a Proof, as any other Species of mere Animals. To the instructed Man they afford a vast Quantity of Materials to exercise Knowledge on, but without being taught that
Know-

Knowledge to apply them to artificial Purposes, they would signify no more to us, besides assisting the Instincts to take Care of that Body they were planted in, than vast Woods and Quarries of Marble in a Country would furnish it with Fleets, Palaces and Cities, without Workmen to fashion them, and Architects to put them into their respective beautiful Orders. *Michael Angelo* used to say, that a Statuary was a Man who only pared off Superfluities, since every Block of Marble contained in it all possible Forms; but without a *Phidias*, a *Praxiteles* or a *Michael Angelo* himself, the Marble will lie for ever a rude shapeless Mass in its Quarry. Some have said that the human Mind contained within it the Seeds of all the Sciences; the Mind is indeed a Soil in which any of these Seeds may be sown, but it must be cultivated; and without an Husbandman it will continue a mere *Tabula rasa*, except what the Instincts write on it, without a possibility of astronomical, geographical or other learned Observations, let the Savage stare ever so much about him, and gaze up to the Skies all Night long, for the Stars are mere sensible Objects to the Brute and unlearned Man, as the Moon to a Dog, who only barks at it, or an ignorant Traveller, who neither doth nor can consider it farther than as he hath Occasion for its Light: But to the natural, moral and metaphysical Philosopher, all these become intel-

ligible Species, Scientifick Objects, and afford Matter for great Variety and Depth of Learning. At present I require and will use no other Proof, than to desire any one to cast his Eyes and Observation on the ancient *Athens* and modern *Setines*, both as to Men and Buildings.

The Instincts as to mere animal Life might be dispatched in a Line or two, they being only sharp, involuntary Impulses stimulating every living Creature to provide for its individual Preservation and the Continuance of its Species. And as these two Views constitute their whole final Cause, we see, that thorough Savages, as the *New Guinea* and *New Holland* naked unspeaking Ones, and the mere Animals hardly, if ever, outrun or pervert them, for they are their only Principle of Action, and from which they cannot deviate. But, if you consider them in the improved, artificial Life, they include as spacious Fields of Science as the Senses do, and of much greater Importance to our social Interest and Commerce. They ingross one large Branch of Philosophy, about what else are all the Laws and civil Politicks in the World conversant? Every Refinement upon the Instincts, every Improvement, every Corruption and Perversion of them, is artificial and taught; and neither Virtue nor Vice are mere Aborigines; they are, each of them, imported to us, and as either of these is chosen
and

and cultivated by us, such is our Character, and such our Reward in Morality. What is History but the Description of what strange Work the Passions of Princes and their Ministers have cut out for Mankind? *Historia Stultorum Regum et Populorum continet astus.* From the Siege of Troy to that of Granada, and both before and since, more States have been ruined by the vicious Passions of Princes than even by their Incapacity, and the Ambition of Conquerors.

Whoever would rightly account for the Growth and Declension of Empires, must search into the moral Causes of them. *Sparta* furnisheth us with incontestible Instances of this Truth at two Periods, which I call the two Miracles of History; first, that *Lycurgus*, who was but a temporary Executor of half the royal Authority, should be able to persuade the other King, and the whole Body of the Citizens to let him new-model their Polity, and begin by making a Present of all their Wealth both real and personal to the Publick (for that was the *Spartan* Oeconomy, they lived in Community as you do in Colleges, and the Estates belonged to the corporate Body, not divided into Mannors among the particular Incumbents) and while this noble Exclusion of private Wealth, Luxury and Poverty continued, which it did for above seven Hundred Years, *Sparta* was the most respected, the most invincible Nation in Greece,
of

of whom it was justly said, that they never asked how many their Enemies were, but where they were. But at last arose *Lyfander*, an Hero of the modern Cast, who placed political Wisdom in Fraud, Perjury, and little Tricks which he bragged had seldom failed him in piecing out his Lion's Skin with a Fox's, whenever it proved too scanty; Well, what mighty Feats did this Craft's-master perform? His City was Master of *Athens* by War, and of *Thebes* by Treachery, he got Money from *Cyrus* to support *Sparta* in the Dominion over *Greece* by mercenary Troops, he sent immense Wealth Home also from *Sicily*, which instead of preserving the Sovereignty of *Greece* to them, melted down all the rigid Virtue of seven Centuries, and in about a Score of Years *Epaminondas* at the Head of twenty thousand *Beotians* defeated the *Spartan* Army of thirty thousand Men with their King at their Head, who fell there and expired with the Glory of his Country, which never raised its Head afterwards but for a short Blaze, like a Comet, under *Gleomenes*, and that by the Revival of *Lycurgus's* Institution, and this I call the second Miracle of History; from which two we may draw a much sounder System of Politicks, than from your *Michiavels*, *Richelieus* and much smaller Dealers in low Artifice, who have succeeded them in most Courts of *Europe* ever since, except that of *England*, which hath often con-

founded

founded me with Astonishment, how *France* can be said to have gained a Superiority over us, *credat Judæus Apella, non ego*. The brutal Lust of Princes abolished the regal Government and the *Decemvirate* in *Rome*, drove the *Macedonians* out of *Parthia*, brought the *Vandals* into *Italy*, the *Moors* into *Spain*, the *Danes* into *Northumberland*, and the *English* into *Ireland*. *Mithridates* might have introduced a *Roman Discipline*, and made Head against the Fortune, Valour and military Skill of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, but his Lust and Cruelty made his People detest and dread him, made *Archelaus* and other Generals desert, his Ministers betray, and his own Sons revolt against him; nay, after all these Losses and Defeats he might have made *Rome* tremble, but for the Mutiny of his Army on the Discovery of his intended Expedition into *Italy*; *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas* or *Hannibal* had led them to the Walls of *Rome*. And I doubt not but *Alexander* had been followed over the *Ganges* by the same Troops who followed him over the *Granicus*, but for his Senseless Pride, Riot and Cruelty; and that they too were debauched, as well as disgusted, by the bad Example of their Prince, the Luxury and Wealth of *Persia* and *India*. I as little doubt but *Julius Caesar* had carried his Legions through *Asia* to the Coasts of *Japan*, as he did into *Britain*, had not his Assassination prevented it; and what *Trajan* did, shews that he

he only wanted Youth to have gone beyond *Alexander* in Conquest as he did in Virtue, and that neither Rivers, Enemies, nor the Disobedience of his own Men would have stopped his further Progress. His Successor *Adrian's* Wisdom and Moderation made him apply himself to improve rather than enlarge an overgrown *Empire*, and certainly his fourteen Years Circuit through it to visit and redress the Grievances of every Province, in each of which he left Monuments of his Magnificence, many of which are extant at this Day, was the most exquisitely refined, noble and philosophick Taste of Luxury the World ever was acquainted with. The great Body of *Byzantine* History, every national History will teach us that *Empires* always fall by intrinsic Failures, by the Caprice, Negligence, moral Defects, slender Abilities, narrow Views and feeble Craft of those nimble Shifters of Scenes and dextrous Forgers of Expedients to serve little Turns, who have of late usurped the Character of Politicians. In *France* the stupid Luxury of their first Race of Kings had long put both the Crown and Nation in Pupilage to the Mayors of the Palace; Ministers indeed have generally asserted in all Nations as good a Right as Prescription can give, to make a Property of their Masters and the real Interest of their Kingdoms, but, except in this which *France* supplies us with, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, for here *Ple-*
trude

trude the Widow of *Pepin d' Heristal*, claimed and carried the Guardianship of King *Dagobert* the second, in behalf of her Grandson *Theodald* an Infant in his Cradle, and the third *Pepin*, another Grandson of the above-mentioned *Pepin*, put an End to the Farce of a Mock-King, and assumed the royal Title, his Predecessors having long before exercised the Authority. Pretty much such another Revolution happened about five hundred Years afterwards in *Egypt*, when the *Mamaluks* Sultans abolished the *Caliphate* and arrogated the Supreme Power to themselves; but that Form of Government continued as it began, military and elective, whereas the Mayor of the Palace, you see, was a Pretender to Hereditary Right. *Charlemagne* was a great Man, but a Series of weak and corrupt Princes, for the most Part, swayed the Sceptre from him to *Charles* the sixth, who was deservedly called the Simple, to be whose Governor and his Kingdom's, *Burgundy* contrived the Murder of *Orleans*, whose Nephew the *Dauphin*, had *Burgundy* murdered in Revenge; young *Burgundy* enters into Alliance with *England* to revenge his Father's Death, otherwise our *Henry* the fifth had reaped no Laurels at *Agincourt*, nor had He, or his Son after him been crowned at *Paris*. *Charles* the-Seventh was called the Victorious, which Title, in my Opinion, he deserved rather more for the *Pragmatick Sanction*, than for expelling

the *English* out of *France*, as that was his own Act, whereas the other was chiefly the Work of the Count *de Dunois*. *Lewis* the Twelfth was the very wisest and best of all their Kings, he most judiciously lamented the State of *France* under his Successor, from whose Vices he foretold with a Sigh, *après ma mort ce gros Garçon gatera tout*; this was He, who with his two grand Rivals *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth, made up a Triumvirate of fanfaron Heroes. Though hardly any Reign ever abounded with more fatal Disasters, yet as they may, for the most Part, be imputed to his Mother's Amours and his own, I will give you a short, but a full History of *Le Roy Francois, le grand Roy Francois* as the *French* affect to call him, and fancy they speak Sense when they do so. The old King was married to a beautiful Princess, this *Francis* was presumptive Heir to the Crown, yet was with great Difficulty restrained from prosecuting an Intrigue that he had begun with that Queen, which would have placed an Heir apparent between him and it. The first wise Step he made was to fill his Court with Ladies, and to introduce them into all the Schemes and Parties of it: He put a cast Mistress of his own on his Son and Successor, whom he married to the politick *Catherine de Medicis*, who filled *France* with Wars, Poisonings, Assassinations, Treacheries, Massacres and every Wickedness, for fifty Years

Years together, with a long Train of dreadful Consequences not easily removed in any Nation. *Louisa* of *Savoy* was this King's Mother, from whom he seems to have taken his Understanding, his Virtue and his whole Complexion; she had as much Ambition as Love. *Lautrec's* Sister was of the same Cast, and ruled the Monarch's Sceptre, by playing with his Heart; she easily set her Brother at the Head of her Lover's Armies in *Italy*, which Post *Lautrec* filled with great Sufficiency. *Louisa* envied the Mistress her Share in the King's Councils, and judged that the shortest Way to remove her, was to make *Lautrec* lose the *Milaneze* and his Army; she seizes 400000 Crowns which were to be remitted instantly to enable that General to defend and enlarge his Conquests; her Measures were effectual as to the Defeat of *Lautrec* and the Loss of *Milan*, but alas, what was that to a Mistress? Had she sold *Milan* to the Emperor, one Tear had blotted out the Fault, one Smile had overpay'd many Dutches, and the World were well lost; such Peccadilloes without Motives of greater Importance, such as a Decay of her Beauty, or a new Mistress, could not have involved her in another's Disgrace, any more than the repeated Treacheries of the Dutches *d'Estampes* were able to remove her afterwards from his Councils, though she had brought the Emperor into the Heart of *Champagne*, where his Army

might have perished, had not that Dutcheſs betrayed *Epernai* and *Chateau-Thierry* into his Hands, with the vaſt Magazines the King had laid up in them, and all this in ſpite to the *Dauphin*, becauſe he was governed by *Diana* of *Poitiers*, his Father's *quondam* Miſtreſs, whom *d' Eſtampes* mortally hated. But to return to Regent *Louiſa* and her heroick Son ; *Lautrec* is chid for loſing the fine Dutchy of *Milan*, he retorts the Blame from his wanting the Money demanded and promiſed ; *Semblancay* the Treasuſer is ſent for, he declares that the Queen took the Money out of his Hands, which ſhe could not deny, but declared ſhe meant no Harm by it ; ſo *Lautrec* is acquitted, *Semblancay* is hanged to indemnify the Queen, and ſome Time after *Semblancay* is declared innocent, ſo there's full Amends made to him and his Family, you know, and all's well again ſo far ; and as for *Milan* his Maſteſty will go in Perſon, gather freſh Laurels in *Italy* and recover *Milan* and *Naples* too, and perhaps might have done ſo, had not his Mother made him loſe all a ſecond Time, his Liberty and almoſt his Kingdom with it. She loved the Conſtable of *Bourbon* and would have had him marry her, which he ſlighted ; this provoked her to Rage, and ſhe raiſed ſuch Storms againſt him from the King, that he was forced to ſave his Life by a very difficult Eſcape out of *France*, and throw himſelf on the Emperor's Protection,

who

who put him at the Head of his Armies in *Italy* against his Prince and Country, for whom he formerly commanded in the same Place with great Conduct and Success. Well, to *Italy* he marches with the Flower of *France*, managed the Campaign, the Siege and the Battle with his usual Wisdom, is taken Prisoner by his own Subject, whom he and his Mother had forced out into Rebellion; but all these Losses did not in the least abate his Pride, though they did his Joy, as you may see by his Letter to his Mother, *Madame tout est perdu hors l'honneur*. How could he lose Honour who had killed seven Men with his own Hand in that Battle, which the Enemy won intirely by his Fault? But if common Sense or common Honesty are any Ingredients in a royal Character, he lost more Honour than any thing else, by his whole Conduct before, in, and after his Imprisonment. The passive philosophick Courage of a *Socrates* making no Part of a fighting Hero's Magnanimity, (which is a Composition of Pride and Fury) his Majesty had like to have died of the Pip at *Madrid*, so that the Emperor was afraid of losing his Prisoner's Ransom, and therefore gave him Liberty on the Security of Treaties, Oaths and Hostages; his Ransom *Francis* discharged with a Quibble, by Way of sheer Wit and good Casuistry, to his own Treasurer, at a Country-house he built to call it *Madrid*, and made a grand Entertainment to his

his Mistresses and to all his Court, who were authentick Witnesses of his Payment of it in Person at the Day appointed. He after sent an odd Challenge to the Emperor for taxing him with Falshood, and used an Expression which has done, and still continues to do more Mischief than is possible to be done by any one the—*worst Prince living*—*Viz.* That no Man ought to be reputed a Gentleman, or allowed to wear a Sword, who would not endeavour to cut the Throat of any Man with it who should dare to call him a Liar. This gave Birth to that corrupt Custom of private Duels, and all the nice Doctrine of Affronts and metaphysical Laws of Honour, which hath shed more Blood in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, than hath been spilt in the most destructive War, and which no Prince hath ever since been able to abolish in his own Dominions. Yet if we look into *Guicciardin's* Account of this Matter (in which he is very particular, and whose Word I had rather take than either the *French* or *Spanish* Historians) he came very scurvily out of the Affair, and has left his fine fantastical Point of Honour to be fought for by those who have more Stomach to it, through all succeeding Generations. We have brought him so far down through the Series of his glorious romantick Atchievements, which as they must have drained his *Exchequer* exceedingly, it required his utmost Stretch of Genius

to

to recruit : Besides, many shrewd Inventions which the Subjects of *France* have ever since rejoiced in, his Top Project was to sell all the Offices of Judicature in his Kingdom, by which indeed he raised immense Sums, but it was but for once ; all he wanted or cared for was that it might last his own Time, for no other King of *France* can ever draw any more that Way, or redress what has been already done, as the Cardinal *De Richelieu* acknowledges and bemoans in his Testament *Politique*, as a very lamentable but irretrievable Grievance, notwithstanding his Genius so fertile in Resources, and his vast Ambition to accomplish arduous Things. And probably this Monopoly of Justice is one of the Reasons why the *Gens de Robe* are not esteemed Gentlemen in *France*, notwithstanding their vast Wealth, Power, and *Lewis Le Grand's* Edict of Re-habilitation in their Favour, which they purchased with a very great Sum. I should not have forgiven my self if I had forgot the Concordate, which *Leo* the Tenth bubbled him into, by which he subjected his Kingdom to a most expensive foreign Tyranny, at a Time that several other Princes were about throwing it off, and contrary to the Remonstrances of his Parliaments, and the Request as well as Interest of the rest of the Nation ; and it required all his Authority and Address for several Years to get it accepted in any Manner. I do not wonder that he acted

acted thus, since it gave him an handle to make a clever Joke, which he seemed mightily to value himself upon, that his Holiness and the most Christian King had fairly damned each other, for the sepreme Pastor had given the Spiritualities to his Majesty, who in Exchange had made him a Present of the Temporals ; besides that the poor Creature was the Dupe of every Conference, as *Charles* the Fifth found, after all the Tricks he had put on him and ill Usage given him, in his Passage through *France*, when he blabbed all the secret Engagements he and *Henry* the Eighth had entred into against him, which cost him a new Breach with *England*, which might have proved fatal to him ; and puts me in mind of just such another Hero, *Marc Antony*, who betrayed *Salvidienus* and his other Adherents within *Augustus's* Quarters, to him, in their Conference at *Brundisium*, which cost them their Lives, and him his share of the World. The detestable Vices, which *Henry* the Third brought with him from *Venice* after his Flight from *Poland*, transformed the Hero of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour* into the greatest of Wretches, and made him from the Delight of *France* the Scorn and Abhorrence of it, to which at last, after infinite Disgraces and Troubles, he fell a Sacrifice at *St. Cloud*. *Henry* of *Navarre*, afterwards the Fourth of *France*, might have ended the Civil Wars with the Victory at *Coutras*, could he

he have been persuaded to improve it by marching up to *Paris*, instead of abandoning his Friends, and all his Interests of every Sort, to throw himself and the Standards taken in Battle at the Feet of *Madame de Guiche*; and its thought on good Grounds, that his scandalous Passion for the Princess of *Conde* gave Occasion for his Death by the Knife of *Ravilliac*. *Frederick* Elector *Palatine* locked up more Gold and Silver in Iron Chests during the Winter he fancied himself King of *Bohemia*, than would have been sufficient to carry the War to the Gates of *Vienna*, could he have prevailed on himself to part with it; he refused a Body of some thousand *Swedes*, for the Fellows expected Pay, and so the Monarch received his Enemies with a very feeble Resistance at the Gates of his new Capital, out of which he and his Family hardly escaped; and the Emperor raised an hundred thousand Men with the Money the other had so providently hoarded up for him. Had he been taken, I do not suppose that the Emperor would have served him, as *Haalon* the *Tartar* did *Musteazem* the last *Caliph* of *Babylon*, have locked him up in his Treasury to feed as long as he could on that Wealth, which he would not use for the Defence of his Empire and City. I imagine that *Frederick* was of the Opinion of one *Tindal*, who crammed all his legal and classical Learning into a *Latin* Argument to

prove, that *Qui non habet Aerarium non est Rex*; and if so, why should he depose himself six Months sooner than it was possible for the Emperor to do it, besides losing that half Year's Salary? It was his Son *Rupert* who gained most of *Cromwell's* Victories over King *Charles* the First, and irretrievably ruined him at *Marston Moor*, *Bristol*, and *Naseby*. Had this same *Rupert* owned his Marriage, and a Son he had by a Lady of Virtue and Quality, whom the Princess *Sophia* always acknowledged as her Brother's Wife, he had prevented the *Palatinate's* falling into the House of *Newburg*, and perhaps a general War in *Europe* to hinder *Berg* and *Juliers* from coming into that of *Sultsbach*: Had he had a Foresight of the just Views and avowed Declarations of a very considerable Party in *England*, so early as the Rejoycing for the Birth of *Charles* the Second, 1630. (which *Heylen* mentions in his Life of Arch-Bishop *Laud*) that it never would be well with *England*, till the Crown fell on the Head of a Prince of the Queen of *Bohemia's* Issue, he had perhaps acted otherwise; the hot, bold Author presumes to censure that oracular Scheme, which we have since seen accomplished with so much Glory and Happiness to these Nations, who are thereby become the Terror or Envy of all the rest of *Europe*. It was *Goring*, and not Sir *William Belfour*, who made the Retreat of *Essex's* Horse from *Cornwall*,

wall, when the King had penned up their Army, and brought the War to a Possibility of being ended triumphantly in a few Hours, if that General would have permitted it ; but I might transcribe the greatest Part of the Histories that have been written, if I were to tell all.

But besides all this, the Regulation of the Instincts is as necessary to great Attainments in the abstracted, Speculative Kinds of Knowledge, as to the Conduct and Happiness of social Life. An eager Curiosity, that Thirst of the Mind, is required to engage Men in the Pursuit of Learning, and Patience to persevere in it. Every indulged Passion makes War on the Understanding, either draws it quite off from intellectual Inquiries, or intercepts the Attention so much and so frequently, that the Progress is very insignificant,

*Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
Abstinit venere et vino.——*

Here we see the Reason why it is the middle Rank of Men, who monopolize the Sciences for the most part, half a Dozen Instances to the contrary, since History began, if so many there be, are altogether anomalous, and confirm the Rule. They who are above, and they who are below Education, as too many Princes, and almost all Beggars are allowed

to be, are also as much above and below Shame, the first Rank sets the Fashions, and the other is not taken into them. Men make court, for all their Designs, to the Passions of those on whom their Fortunes depend, and as Men approach nearer to either of the two Extremes, they give themselves up entirely to their Instincts; they think with them, and live only for them; and notwithstanding the mighty seeming Distance between these two States of Life, there is not any other Parallel which strikes me more strongly than this does, in the words of the ingenious *Butler*:

Extremes of Glory and of Shame,
Like *East* and *West* become the same.

Madness seems to be nothing else but brooding so long over one Passion, that the Mind has lost the Faculty of entertaining any other: And here we might find Room for many curious Inquiries into the Nature and Force of Discipline, and how much even these natural, these animal Impulses, depend on Institution and Habit, as to their Direction and actual Employment, and perhaps go a good way towards proving that every Man living might once have been a *Spartan* or *Sybarite*. It is chiefly from the Passions that the Characters are drawn, that Stupendious Variety of Representations, which human Nature exhibits: What other Difference between *Hercules* and

and *Geryon*, *Theseus* and *Procrustes*, *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, between the Hero and a Banditto, between the Man of Honour and an——? But taking leave of the unnurtured both of high and low Degree, as being far out of the Reach of all Advice, I will conclude, all that I think proper to say of the Instincts and Affections at this Time, in those admirable Rules which *Lucan* has put into *Cato's* Character, and which would raise any other Man to the Level of him, or even of *Socrates*,

——— *Servare modum, finemque tueri*
Naturamque sequi, Patriæque impendere vitam,
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.

We are now come to the third and last Inlet of our Knowledge, conveyed to us by Language, by which we are enabled to make use of the Materials furnished us by the two former Inlets to a vast Variety of Purposes; no less than all the Mechanical Arts, all Mathematical and Physical Sciences, which are built on our Ideas of Sensation; all Ethical Knowledge and Obligation, all the Institutions of Government, all the Mysteries of Law and of Politicks, of which the Passions are the proper Objects; besides many other spacious Fields of abstracted, metaphysical and speculative Inquiries, which neither of the two former can let us into, or give us the least Prospect of. Many of the brute Species have some
of

of their Senses, and all of them some of their Instincts, much more acute than we have, some of them have Instincts which we want altogether ; so that when Men are utterly destitute of Speech, and in course of Reason and social Help, they are more indigent, helpless and unknowing than many whole Nations of Brutes, Bees, Wasps, Pismires, Beavers, all, in short, who live in Community, and several others who do not. These acute Senses, stronger, and even different Instincts in any of the irrational Species of Animals, are exactly adapted to the Wants of each particular Species, but would not by any means fit us, would not be consistent with the Culture of the third Inlet of Knowledge, of which I will name but one Instance, since every Man can add as many more as he pleases : If a Man had the quick Hearing, and the perpetual Fears of an Hare, how could he ever lend a patient Ear and attentive Mind to the Instructions of his Teachers, or keep his Eyes and Observation closely fixed on a Book ?

Pectora nostra duas non admittentia curas ?

Now the Question is, how we came by this third Inlet ? Whether we fell on it by Chance, contrived it our selves, or received it from our Parents and Neighbours ? Every Man can easily answer this Question, by recollecting how he got his Mother-Tongue, under what Master

fter, and by what Grammar he learned his *Greek, Latin*, or what other Language he is Master of; and surely he may and ought to conclude, how every other Man learned that which he speaks or understands; therefore he must be convinced that it is so; that it cannot be otherwise, till he sees Men speak Languages at Sight, which they never heard or studied before. And since Language is artificial, for no Man in his Senses will say that Words are native Marks or Signs of Things, and since Ratiocination is the Art of Thinking, and Logick most rightly so defined, I cannot but look on the common Definition of Man, as *Animal Rationale*, to be somewhat defective. I think it might be altered for the better, though that would not be compleat, to define him *Animal Rationabile*, if *Rationabile* may be allowed to signify the Capacity of receiving, and not the actual Exercise of Reason: In which Acceptation of the Term, I think, *Quintilian* will bear me out, by this Quotation from *L. 2. Sed quia Sermonem carent quæ id faciunt, muta atque irrationabilia vocantur.* And afterwards, *L. 5. Nec si mutis finis voluptas, rationabilibus quoque.* *Horace* says, that all Mankind, at first, was *mutum et turpe pecus*, as the poor Savages in *New Guinea, New Holland*, and other Places are at this Day, and must continue so, until some more civilized People shall settle Colonies among them, and teach them the Use of Speech, and
the

the other Arts of Social Life. I do not mean that the present Race of grown Savages, can be humanized thoroughly, the Children and the growing Generation might ; but as Youth is the Seed-time for all the Sciences, but especially for Languages, there is an Age beyond which they are not to be planted with any Prospect of Fruit. Human Savages are sometimes found in the Forests of *Poland*, which have been dropt there Children, in the Incurfions of the *Tartars*, whom it is difficult to teach to walk erect, and impossible to teach some of the elder ones Language; and consequently Reason. Several Instances of such Savages are to be met with in the *Polish* Histories, and Dr. *Connor* gives us some in the second Volume of his *Account of Poland*. And as to the Sciences there are almost as many Instances of blind Men that were Mathematicians, as of tolerable Scholars who had not laid an early Foundation ; we know of four such, *Diodotus stoicus, cæcus* — *Geometriæ munus tuebatur*. Cic. *Tusc. Quest. Lib, 5, Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *Diogenes* of *Constantinople*, and the late eminent Dr. *Sanderfon* of Cambridge. It is an *Idiom* in all Languages to express an irrational Animal to call it a poor dumb Creature, and he certainly did well who joined the rational Capacity of Man to his Tongue,

Eximiam

*Eximiam natura dedit linguamque capaxque
Ingenium.* —

The *Greeks* use the same Term, *Λογος*. for Speech and Reason, for the *Sermo internus et externus*; and for that Reason, seeing and hearing are called the Senses of Discipline, because they only can convey Words to the Mind, Words which are the necessary Vehicles of Thought, or as *Plutarch* very justly expresseth it, in his excellent Treatise of Education, Vol.

2. P. 12. of the *Paris* Edition in Folio, *διὸν γὰρ
λογος τροφή διανοίας ἐστίν*, Words are the Food of the

Understanding. I cannot help observing by the bye, that there is perhaps the strongest Analogy between the Nourishment of the Mind and of the Body, that is to be met with, the Degrees of Appetite with which each is received, the Choice and Quantity of the respective Aliments, and their various Concoctions in Order to an Assimilation, into the Substance of each. Some Animals want some of the Senses, most Animals have but one Stomach, yet some of them can digest Bones: Ruminating Animals have four Stomachs, every Bird hath two but the *Cassivare*, and Men have one Faculty for the Reception and Digestion of intellectual Food which all other Animals want. I can not help observing here, that the much slower Growth of Men's Stature and Strength than of any other Animal is
G necessary,

necessary, to allow sufficient Time for the Nourishment and Culture of their rational Faculties in the Acquisition of Knowledge ; too forward a Spring leaves little or no Fruit for Autumn, *præcox Ingenium* is a proverbial Observation in every System of Education in the vegetable, animal, or rational World, what is forced beyond its natural Strength seldom, if ever, arrives at a sound Maturity. And these Analogies will also furnish us with a Rule how to ascertain Analogy in other Cases, *viz.* Where we blend two Things or Subjects together, which are conveyed to our Minds by different Inlets. I mean the Logical Analogy of Attribution, not the Mathematical one of Proportion which is Conversant about the relative Modes, which Subjects of the same kind bear towards each other, whereas the first either applies to, or explains, by the known Attributes or Properties of one Subject, those of a different Sort or Species as well as Degree, which could not be so well known, or perhaps not at all, without such Allusion, Comparison, or Illustration. I do not think that it would be altogether a trifling Inquiry in Logick, to state that Matter at large, and in every Particular, but that not being my present Business I return to what is so. Pursuant to this Observation of the Growth both of Mind and Body by proper Food, the old Philosophers were used to call their Schools the Shops where Physick was to be bought for the Mind.

Fervet

*Fervet avaritia miserave cupidine pectus ?
Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem.
—— Sunt certa piacula quæ te
Ter pure lecto, poterunt recreare libello,*

as if they wrought like a Charm and perfected the Cure at once, and so they do sometimes. *Alcaander* was the most violent, dissolute young Man in *Sparta*, he struck out one of *Lycurgus's* Eyes, was sent by the Citizens to *Lycurgus* to punish him in what manner he pleased; *Lycurgus* received him as a Pupil rather than a Criminal, and in a few Days sent him out of his House the most sober composed Man in the City, the most exact Copy, as well as the greatest Admirer of the Virtues of that wonderful Man, who left *Sparta* in Possession, for above seven hundred Years, of that noble Character of *Δαμασιμβρολος*, the Tamer of Men, for *Horace* never was more in the right than when he says,

*Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
Si modo Culturæ patientem accommodet aurem.*

Quintilian, on these Principles, says, *Tantum ingenii quantum memoria*, and *Plutarch*, in the Essay lately quoted, says, that the Mythologists therefore did wisely in making Memory the Mother of the Muses: He observes farther,
that

that in the Arts and Sciences, a Concurrence of three Things is requisite, Nature, Reason, and Use. Now by Reason here, says he, I would be understood to mean Learning, and by Use Exercise; of these, Learning assists Nature with the Principles, and Industry with the Exercise. If Nature be not improved by Learning it is blind; and again, here Nature resembles the Soil; the Instructor of Youth, the Husbandman; and the rational Principles and Precepts which are taught, the Seed. And all these, says he, I peremptorily affirm to have met and conspired to complete the Souls of those great Men, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato.— And happy is that Man and beloved by the Gods, by whose Bounty they are conferred.— If you desire more of it, I refer you to the Treatise itself, which is, at least, as well worth reading as any Thing that great Philosopher hath left us. *Thales the Milesian*, the first Importer of Learning among the *European Greeks*, was fully sensible of this Truth, when he thanked the Gods, for having made him a Man not a Brute, a Man not a Woman, a Greek not a Barbarian: And *Plato* concluded his Life with a Thanksgiving to the Gods, for having made him a Man, a Greek, and the Scholar of *Socrates*. I will close this with one Quotation from *Aristotle* about the End of his seventh Book of Politicks. *πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τοῦ προσλείποντος βάλει τῆς φύσεως ἀναπληρῶν*, all Art and Discipline intends to fill up the Defects of Nature,

ture, to supply what is wanting. It were easy to heap Quotations to this Point, nay, every Book writ for the Instruction of Men, and all pretend to have that View, is a Proof of the Position that we need it, as every Butcher and Cook is that we require daily Food.

As I took Notice, that the common Definition of Man, *Animal Rationale*, appeared to me defective, as not sufficiently expressive of his true Nature, but full fraught with the Absurdity of innate Ideas, as if he came into the World with all his intellectual Furniture about him, whereas his Growth both of Mind and Body, is not only gradual but very slow, but the Mind much the most so, which is never too old to learn if it began young; I hold it absolutely necessary to make a Distinction between mere Nature, and Nature improved by culture, between Nature drest and undrest.

All Men, who know their Use and can procure them, wear Clothes, yet I could not allow *Animal Vestitum* to be, by any Means, not only a complete, but even a sufficiently discriminating Article between him and the brute Generation; because, as every Man is born naked, so we find in many Places, *Miriads* of Savages who have not yet found out any Clothing wherewith to cover themselves. Had that been allowed a proper Definition, *Hobs* would have sent him into the World armed Cap-a-Pied, his Scimiter drawn, and Arm raised to assert his natural Rights by the Death or Conquest

Conquest of every other Man; and *Cumberland* would have introduced him in a *Toga pura*, with the Olive-Branch held out in his Hand, and he bawling as loud as ever he could for his Life, for a Truce and a free Conference, in order to invent Languages, make Laws, and choose Magistrates from among themselves, for the necessary Support and Comfort of social Life: Whereas really the poor Creature knows nothing of one or t'other, but just as it happens to be bred up, and he cultivates the Arts of Peace or War as he is applied to either, and sometimes both in their Turns. It seems very plain to me that nothing ought to enter into the Definition of untaught Nature, but what every Individual of the Species is by its mere untaught Nature ready to do at all Times, and in all Places; or that, what no Individual of an animal Species ever doth at any Time, or on any Occasion, without long Culture, and in which the several Individuals differ exceedingly from each other, not only as to the Dexterity of doing it well, but the Ability of doing it at all, such artificial Acquisitions are properly to be ascribed to Education which introduced them, and not to the mere animal Nature of that Species, not one of which ever arrived at it, but by reiterated Instruction, and a slow laborious Progress. *Cicero de legibus* L. 1. SS. 10. P. 37. Edit. *Cantab.* 1727. *Nihil est enim unum uni tam simile, tam par, quam omnes inter nosmetipsos sumus.*

*sumos. Quod si depravatio consuetudinum, si opinionum varietas non imbecillitatem animorum torqueret et flecteret, quocunque cepisset sui nemo ipse tam similis esset, quam omnes sunt omnium: Itaque quaecunque est hominis definitio, una in omnes valet. Quod argumenti satis est, nullam dissimilitudinem esse in genere; quæ si esset, non una omnes definitio contineret. Et enim ratio, qua una præstamus belluis, per quam conjectura valemus, argumentamur, refellimus, differimus, conficimus aliquid, concludimus, certe est communis, doctrina differens, discendi quidem faultate par: Nam et sensibus eadem omnia comprehenduntur; et ea quæ movent sensus itidem movent omnium; quæque in animis imprimuntur, de quibus ante dixi, inchoatæ intelligentiæ, similiter in omnibus imprimuntur; interpretsque est mentis oratio, verbis discrepans, sententiis congruens. No Philosopher would define a Parrot *animal loquens*, although it can be taught to pronounce several Words; or put all the Tricks a Dog may be taught into the specifick Definition of that Creature; for how can that be a true specifick Definition which takes in but a few of the Individuals that compose it? In a Description of Dogs, one might properly take notice of their *Docility*; so far as it reaches, it makes the valuable part of their Character; as a Dog may be bred up to be a Blood-Hound, though without understanding the Purpose he is applied to, and our Ancestors the *Scythians* made great Use of them in their Wars.*

But

But to return to the human Definition, not to trouble our selves either with trifling Definitions or defective ones, as that of, Man is an Animal with two Legs without Feathers, which *Aristotle* is said to have turned into Ridicule, by pulling out a Cock's Feathers and throwing him down so stript before the Master and all the Scholars with a behold *Plato's* Man, or as some have defined him *Animal risibile*, as if no other Animal ever laughed, which may perhaps be true, but is such an insignificant Distinction, that it gives him no important Advantage over the brute Generation; we must therefore look out for some other more material Difference between them, such as we may know the Animal designed by it, as soon as we hear the Definition; and as articulate Language is a most remarkable one, and of such vast and useful Extent, as by it to learn many thousand things, which could not be known without it; but both it and all the Knowledge conveyed by it must be acquired by Instruction and our own Industry to master it, and whatever Knowledge is contained in it or expressed by it; the wisest and best of the old *Greek* Philosophers drew their Definition from that Particularity. *Favorinus* the Philosopher, in the first Chapter and fourth Book of *A. Gellius's Noces Atticae*, defines Man *Animal mortale Rationis et Scientiae capax*, which is not so clearly, so fully expressed in *Latin*, as it was in *Greek* by the
the

the antient Philosophers from whom he took it, for the Word they used was *Λογος*, which signifies both Speech, and that Reason which was taught and communicated by it from one Man and one Generation to another, nor can *Λογος* be used for either without inferring the other. *Sermo externus et internus* is proper in *Latin*, but *Sermo* is not used singly for *Ratiocination*; Discourse is retained in *English* for Conversation, but *Discursus* in *Latin* is almost wholly restrained and appropriated to the last Act of the Understanding by the *Logicians*. The Definition of Man according to the *Greek Idiom*, ought to be thus translated, *Man is an Animal mortal, capable of Discourse, that is of Reason by its Interpreter Speech*. This Definition is proper, whereas *Aristotle's* is not, which makes him *Animal rationale*, as if he were actually and not only potentially so, by his specifick Nature, without any foreign Help or Culture; which every Man who has received Instruction, on Recollection knows to be false by his own Experience, since every Man can remember the Birth and Progress of his Knowledge, though not his own Birth or Sucking, nor does any Man feel his Food actually nourishing him, or his Flesh growing, but he can't help knowing the first Conception, Birth, and Growth of his Knowledge. For, as I quoted before from *Plutarch's Treatise on Education*, *the Learner resembles the Soil, the Teacher, the Husbandman, and the Knowledge*

communicated answers to the Seed, which must be cultivated by the Pupil as well as sown by the Instructor. Thus every Man can remember how, when, and from whom he learned what he knows, and what repeated Pains it cost him to improve the Seeds of Knowledge which were propagated in him, and the several Degrees of their Growth and Progress from the first Vegetation to the perfect Stature of bearing Fruit. So that if you will not allow me to reckon the Student one of the Parents, you must at least grant that he is to discharge the Office of a Nurse and Fosterer to all that Science which he retains and improves : there must be a Concurrence of the Pupil and his Labours with those of his Teachers, or there can be no Production of Speech or Science ; for there is no natural Series or Succession of Thoughts and Notions, they are all moral Entities, and must be received and cultivated by a free Agent, which is acknowledged in Fact by all Mankind, otherwise the Punishments inflicted on Children for neglecting their Studies would be useless, and barbarously unjust. No Physical Action or Thing was ever lost, no Man or Nation ever struck Science out of themselves, but all can tell how they came by their Portion of it ; nor could Science ever have begun but by a positive Instruction, at whatever Period you'll agree to fix its Commencement. And as it was introduced at first, so it must be continued
by

by Speech and Instruction, for it can't propagate it self, nor Man lay hold on it without an Instructor to reach it to him, for Learning dies away in Ignorance in one Age and is re-imported in another; and whatever plastick Powers were given to the first Parent Couple of the human Species, which have continued it from Extinction ever since, we are very sure that there is no such silent Energy in Speech nor in any Species of Science, but from the Beginning Men have been learning, forgetting, recovering or losing every kind of Science which Mankind ever was instructed in at any time, and so it will still be, *multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque quæ nunc sunt in honore.*

Pythagoras held that he was the wisest of all, whether a God, a Dæmon, or divine Man, who contrived Language, and invented all Names, and that by Education it is that Men differ from Beasts; and that moral Virtue also is owing to Institution and Culture, as well as a Persuasion of the Being and Attributes of God. *Cicero*, in the first Book of his *Tusculan Questions*, gives a particular and beautiful Account of this Matter, which I recommend to your Perusal and Consideration, since it would take up too much room here, to transcribe more than a Specimen of it. *Quid illa Vis, quæ tandem est quæ investigat occulta, quæ Inventio atque Excogitatio dicitur? ex hacne tibi terrena, mortalique Natura et caduca concreta ea*

videtur? aut qui primus, quod summæ Sapientiæ Pythagoræ visum est, omnibus rebus imposuit Nomina? aut qui dissipatos Homines congregavit et ad Societatem Vitæ convocavit? aut qui sonos Vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis Literarum Notis terminavit? — Philosophia vero, omnium Mater Artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato ait, Donum, ut ego, Inventum Deorum? Hæc nos primum ad illorum Cultum, deinde ad Jus Hominum, quod situm est in Generis humani societate, tum ad Modestiam, Magnitudinemque Animi erudit: eademque ab Animo, tanquam ab Oculis Caliginem dispulit, ut omnia, supera, infera, prima, ultima, media videremus; prorsus hæc divina mihi videtur Vis, quæ tot Res efficiat et tantas — nec invenietur unquam unde ad Hominem venire possint nisi a Deo. Even Horace the Epicurean owns, *Nec Natura potest justo secernere iniquum.* Socrates, according to his great Scholars Zenophon and Plato, makes Speech of divine Original, and the greatest of all the Creations, the whole Cratylus of Plato is to that Purpose. And as to the true Use and End of this divine Gift, of being introduced by it to the Knowledge and Worship of the Divinity, Socrates always called the Virtues Sciences, and placed Piety at the Head of them, as not only the most considerable but, in some measure, the Parent of all the rest. He argues strongly, that the Distance between the divine and human Nature is so immense, and the two Natures so infinitely different also, that Men could no thave conceived
either

either that there was a Divinity, that he claimed their Homage and Worship, or what Sort of Actions he required in their Adoration of him; that therefore all they knew of God and moral Virtue, was owing to the Remains (which Tradition had, though imperfectly and corruptly, handed down to them) of that Communication of his Will which he was pleased to make to the first Parents of all Mankind. That this Tradition was become so very much adulterated by passing through so many Hands, that it required to be renewed; which was fully expected, and most impatiently longed for by him. Whatever Strength is in this Manner of Reasoning does not belong to my present Subject; which is to consider whether it be possible for Man to conceive what is not the Object of any Sense, without Information; and whether it be not necessarily prævious to such Information, that he was taught and had acquired the Use of Language, which I hope I have sufficiently proved to conclude this to be his true Definition, *Homo est Animal Sermonis capax, eoque Interprete Rationis etiam et Religionis*, Man is an Animal capable of being taught to speak, and by the Means of Speech, instructed in the Use of Reason also and Religion, or in fewer Words, *Homo est Animal utriusque Sermonis et Religionis capax*, Man is an Animal capable of Speech, Reason and Religion.

I was

I was just going to conclude with a few Quotations from Mr. *Lock*, when a couple of others came in my Way, from which I thought I could clearly shew the Usefulness of distinguishing the different Canals, Avenues or Vehicles by which the Notices of different Things approach our Minds. *Sextus Empiricus* in several places produces the Authority of *Democritus* in his Canons, to prove, that there are two Kinds of Knowledge, one of the Senses, the other of the Mind; of which that by the Mind he calls Knowledge, accounting it that which may be trusted for the Judgment of Truth; that by the Senses he calleth dark and obscure, denying it to have any Certainty as to the Knowledge of Truth, &c. There is more to the same purpose in *Sextus Empiricus*, from whom this is literally translated, otherwise I should rather have expressed it thus—*There are two Kinds of Notices, of which he calls that by the Mind Knowledge*—But as he always uses the same Term *γνωσις* throughout the Quotation, I let the Word Knowledge stand in the Translation, though it is plainly equivocal, and signifies Idea of Sensation in one Place, and Notion or Science in another. The Author had discovered the Glimmerings of the Truth, therefore what was imperfectly understood must of course be indistinctly worded. Had he considered that different Objects give different Notices of themselves to the Mind, and by different Ways of Approach, he

he might clearly have shewn their Diversity, pointed out their Limits, and the Road which each of them must necessarily have taken to come at us.

I little expected to have looked into, much less quoted any Thing from the Writings of a Divine in this little logical Essay, but a Friend shewing me a Passage or two which he had drawn out of a Couple of Dr. South's Sermons, and left them with me for my Consideration, I was very well pleased with it, since it confirms me in the Persuasion of the Simplicity, Truth and Usefulness of the Principles I lay down, by shewing me what strange learned Blunders the greatest Men make, when they will soar out of Sight in Search of Refinements. I will make use of the Passages, without transcribing the Whole; I will mark such as are the Doctor's own Words, that you may see that I have represented him fairly; I begin with that taken from the first of his two Discourses on 2 *Theff.* xi. 11. in the fourth Volume of the Edition in Octavo, from Page 358 to 363. The Species *sensibiles* and Species *intelligibiles* are Terms long known and used by Logicians, which Terms I chose to translate by Ideas of Sensation and speculative Notions; *upon their observing the vast Difference between the same Object, as it was sensible and affected the Sense, and as it was intelligible and moved the Understanding, they held the Necessity of another Principle without the*
Soul,

Soul, to advance the Object a gradu sensibili ad gradum intelligibilem, and this they called an Intellectus Agens. But what this Intellectus Agens was, how it acted in this Operation, and enabled the human Understanding to apprehend speculative and abstracted Notions, and to apply sensible Objects to scientifick Purposes, they are not so well agreed, nor are altogether so clear as in shewing the Necessity of such an extrinsic Principle. Plato, and Aristotle after him (as borrowing it from him) and several of the most eminent of the Peripatetick School, both ancient and modern, hold, that this spiritual Light, necessary to enable the Object to affect the intellectual Faculty, which yet the Object cannot give it self, nor yet strike or move the Faculty without it, is an Irradiation or Illumination of God, That supreme Intelligence (whose Body they say is Light and his Soul Truth) which shines both on the Object and the Faculty, and enables the Objects to affect the Mind, and the Mind to conceive intellectual Notions, and to draw Scientifick Consequences from the Objects. For they inferred from the Fifth Chapter of Aristotle's Third Book Περὶ ψυχῆς, that besides the native inherent Light of the Intellect (which yet is essential to it, as it is a Faculty made to apprehend and take in its Objects after a spiritual Way) there is also another Light in the Nature of a Medium beaming in upon it, by a continual Efflux and Emanation from the great Fountain of Light, and
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irradiating this intellectual Faculty, together with the Species or Representations of Things imprinted thereupon, [This last Quotation is from the second Sermon of the third Volume, Page 55, 56.] Others of them have other Ways of endeavouring to explain it; some imagined, that they consulted the Honour and Dignity of human Nature by asserting, that though there is and must be an Intellectus Agens, yet that it is no more than a different Faculty of the same Soul, or a different Function of the same Faculty. But not to trouble you with any more of this Sort of Learning, which you understand so much better than I do, this is certain, that as there must be Objects presented to the outward Senses in order to strike them, and produce Ideas of Sensation, so it will be equally impossible to produce Notions in the Mind, unless the Species Intelligibiles be placed in a proper objective View, and fairly laid before it for its Perusal, for de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est Ratio. Now all the Question is, by what Light, through what Avenue, and in what Vehicle they approach the Mind, and are received into it? The former Hypothesis (of an universal divine Illumination on the sensible Objects to make them productive of intellectual Improvements, and on the Mind to enable it to extract such spiritual Wonders out of them) is partly unintelligible, highly vain, dangerously enthusiastick, and false in Fact; for there are many

Hundreds of Ignorant, unspeculative Men for one that is otherwise; besides, that this *Hypothesis* does not provide Objects, proper Objects, true *Species Intelligibiles* for the Understanding, but only pretends to qualify it for grafting some scientifick Uses on sensible Objects, so that we are yet to look out for some other Harbinger to introduce, and some Clothing to make them, as I may term it, visible to the Understanding, and cognizable by it. Innate Ideas will answer no Purpose nor stand an Argument, but Instruction in and by Language will hold universally, will take in every Individual of the human Species through all that infinite Variety of intermediate Degrees, between the most learned and knowing Man that ever was, and the dumb Savage of the Forest: The true Principle is always simple and clear, and for that Reason, too often over-look'd for elaborate Errors, with so very small a mixture of Truth in them, that there is hardly enough to make them stick together; insomuch that it requires some Pains, if not Sagacity, to find it out and separate it from the rest of the Trash. Nay, I can't see how this same Irradiation could work its intellectual Effect without Words; for the brightest Light, shining on a sensible Object, will not make it visible to a blind Man; much less will it create an intellectual Object for the Mind, or convey it without the Mediation of Language, let *Remond Lully* say

say as many witty Things as he pleases, on *Fires* being the Parent of Motion, Life and Thought. Much less will I trouble you with the idle Dreams of the *Stoicks* on the Topick of Language, as if every Word in it were either a natural Sign of something, or that there was a natural Reason, at least, why that particular Word was taken up or offered it self to signify that thing; as if *Greek* were the only Language in the World, or the first one; and a Spice of that Conceitedness seems to run through the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, though there are a great many valuable and curious Things in that Dialogue. This Whim of the *Stoicks* about their Words, puts me in mind of one somewhat a-kin to it among another Sort of Quacks, that every Vegetable has a sufficient Signature impress'd on it by Nature, to discover its good or bad Qualities by, not only whether it was esculent, medicinal or poisonous, but of what Sort, and to what Part the Good or Harm was to be done, *Cephalicks*, *Stomachicks*, *Cardiacks*, *Hepaticks*, *Pulmonicks*, &c. But I fear, that if Instinct did not guard the brute Generation, and culture the human, more would die by Poison in a Month, than ever were swept away by Murrain and Plague in a Year. I can hardly forgive the *Stoicks* for pretending to take away the Instincts by their Philosophy, and accounting so wretchedly for Language, which is another, and the most considerable of the three Inlets of Knowledge.

ledge. The *Stoicks* were the most proud, uncomfortable Sect of all the *Sophists*, yet *Seneca* prefers them without Hesitation to all their Gods, for this wise Reason, that the Gods can't help being good, but their wise Man is good in spite of himself and the Gods too, *Victrix Causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*; and in demure Pride and fullen Triumph of his Victory consists his infinite Glory and Reward, and he rejects the Offer of any other with Scorn. Yet this same *Seneca*, if he is not foully belyed with *Agrippina*, was as arrant a Debauchee as *Aristippus*, who being a jolly Companion, and loving the Diversions and good Chear of a Court, professed the Vices of the Company he kept, to which *Seneca* added Hypocrisy and Avarice. All *Seneca's* Wealth would be but a Species *sensibilis* to *Æsop's* Cock; a curious repeating Watch is no more, to the Beast or mere Savage; to a Child it is a pretty Play-thing; to a fine Lady it is a Trinket at her Side, to which other smaller ones hang; to the Beau it is a Memorandum to pull out to shew that he has it, as also an Affignation on his Hands, which it puts him in Mind of; it is his Companion to speak to him when he is alone, and to tell what o'Clock it is when he can't sleep of Nights; others consider its Use, and that it is a fine Piece of Workmanship, but not one of a thousand knows its constituent Parts, and the Mechanical Principles by which they

they are put together ; and I was told of a very brave *Highlander* who dash'd a Watch he had taken in Battle on the Ground, and killed the little purring Animal to make a Snuff-Box of it's Shell. Having mentioned a Watch, I can't avoid just hinting at the exceeding slow Progress of many Arts, if not all ; Pocket-Watches are not of long standing, Repeating-Clocks are not near a hundred Years old, Repeating-Watches not above two or three and Fifty Years, the Orrery but about Twenty. Nor has Longitude been invented yet, by *Whiston*, *Ditton*, *Halley*, or any of the Mathematical Virtuosi, notwithstanding the vast Reward offered to whet their Inventions ; nor do I expect it from the Clock now under Tryal, nor from any studied Attempt, till some lucky Chance shall drop down to discover it at once, and intitle the happy Mortal to the Reward and Credit of it. Whether we look to Manual Arts as Painting, Sculpture, Building, or the other Exercises and Operations of the Mind, we shall find them all owing to Instruction, Pains taken with the Learners and by them, Encouragement, Emulation, and much Time to bring them to such Perfection as they have arrived at. *Diodorus Siculus* says expressly, that there was not one fine Building in *Egypt* till *Sesostris* introduced them, wherever he learned his Skill ; and *Augustus* boasted at his Death that he had found *Rome* of Brick, but
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left it of Marble ; and the fine Taste of Building began to decay soon after the Age of *Titus*, to revive a little under *Dioclesian*, and in the *East* afterwards under *Justinian* ; and since the Revival of Arts about two Centuries ago in *Italy*, we find to this Day, the Style of Painting and Building of the different Schools very discernible among the Artists trained up in them. The *Augustan* Age excelled in every Art but one, Oratory, which expired with *Cicero* and the Common-Wealth, for the strong Reasons given by *Quintilian* or *Tacitus*, whoever of them writ the Dialogue *de Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* ; the *Attick* Oratory flourished only while *Athens* was its own Sovereign ; the *Macedonian* Dominion forced *Demosthenes* to kill himself, and Oratory to suppress its Voice in *Greece* for ever ; for nothing succeeded after but little flattering Harangues, and poultry Declamations on fictitious Subjects. There is Matter for more than an hundred *Pancirollus*'s to write, *de Rebus inventis et deperditis*, or to shew that Institution and Encouragement set Industry at work just as they please, *sint Mecænates non deerunt Flacce Marones*, and that the whole rational scientifick and moral Nature of Man, is that second one which Culture began and Custom has riveted ; his intellectual Improvements are the Arts of speaking and thinking, and the very Terms, *Ethicks* in *Greek* and *Morals* in *Latin*, shew that they were derived from Custom.

When

When I consider these Things I am strongly inclined to doubt whether, properly and strictly speaking, there ever was a studied Invention of something originally new, for besides that such a Faculty in the human Mind would imply a sort of creating Power, we know in Fact that all those Discoveries which are commonly called Inventions, were casual at first, and improved afterwards. Some have told us who first made Musick malleable, by observing the different Sounds produced by the Strokes of several Hammers on an Anvil; and that *Hercules*, hitting gently the Sinews of a *Tortoise* that lay dead and dried on the Shore, with his Stick, gave the first hint of a Lute, which therefore took its Form and Name of *Testudo* from thence; and that just such another Accident of a Dog's biting a *Murex*, and painting his Muzzle of a beautiful Colour which lasted some Days, is said to have let the *Tyrians* and their Neighbours of *Sidon*, into the beneficial Trade of the famed purple Dye; the Term of Purple is still retained for Royalty, though the Manufacture has been lost ever since the Turks have possessed and ravaged all those noble Provinces. *Inventer la Poudre*, is a Proverb in *France* to express the most exalted Genius; they might as properly say that *Christopher Columbus*, or after him *Vesputius*, invented *America*, (especially the latter, whose Name that whole Continent bears to this Day as a Proof on't) for in truth nothing

thing ever was more accidental, less designed or desired, for when a Spark from the Candle set it on Fire, blew the Cover off the Mortar in his Face and wounded him, no doubt he was much surprized and troubled at it; though it made him large Amends soon after, by enabling his Country-Men with two or three Pateraroes which he made for them, to defeat the *Venetians*, which preserved *Genoa*. Soon after, our *Edward* the Third was supplied by the *Easterlings* (who for some Centuries had carried on all the Trade of *Europe* from the *Mediterranean Northward*) with a few small Field-Pieces, which gained him the Victory at *Cressy*; for though the *English* Valour could not absolutely need such foreign Assistance to overcome any Number of *French* Troops, yet the great Ease and small Loss with which he put the whole Force of *France* to Flight, were owing to the Noise, Flashes and Smoke of the Powder, which made the *Horses* instantly run away with the Men at Arms on their Backs, in whom the whole Force of the *European* Armies was then known to consist. Long after that, some *Genoese* Renegadoes furnished *Selimus* the First with four Pieces of Ordnance, with which he got some very important Victories over *Hismael Sophi* and *Campson Gaurus*, much greater Men than himself, and over much better Troops than his own, and the whole *Mameluke Empire* was the Reward of his Success against the Latter and his Successor

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Toman Boy. Much about the same time, *Cortez* and *Pizarro* conquered the two large, rich *Empires* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, with every other Part of *America* they pleased to seize on and call theirs; nor have we any Reason to despise the poor Inhabitants of that vast Continent, nor those of several Provinces in *Africa* and *Asia*, where the *Portuguese* had settled numerous Factories, since we find that Fire-Arms carried the same irresistible Terror at their first Appearance, among the bravest Troops and most adventurous Heroes. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* is said, according to the common Way of speaking, to have invented Bombs; but he learned their excellent Use in Destruction, from the Fire-works made for his triumphant Entry into *Breda*, which he had recovered from *Spinola* by a Stratagem; for the shaft of a Rocket, which burst and fell short among the Crowd, of whom it killed and wounded some, taught him a new way of raining down Death on Mankind; and being a Dabber in Mechanicks, he made a Mortar hardly better than what we call a *Coborn* or an *Hawitzer*; and with three or four of those Engines, he and his Brother Prince *Frederick Henry* after him, hardly ever failed to take the Town they sat down before, in a very few Days. Of what prodigious Terror were a Couple of old Hulks filled with combustible Matter, and set a-drift against the invincible *Spanish Armada*, which it hurried off from our Coasts to perish on the *Western Shore*

of *Scotland* and *Ireland*? Yet though we got the greatest Glory and Advantage, we are not justly intitled to the Honour of the first Contrivance, for that was attempted before (though not with a Success answerable to the Surprise and Astonishment it gave the Enemy) against the Duke of *Parma's* famous Bridge over the *Scheld* near *Antwerp*. And even before that, in the Reign of *Edward VI. A. D. 1549.* the *French* filled a Vessel with Faggots, Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, and Wild-fire to burn the *English* Ships at *Bolloigne*. Sir *John Heyward's* Life of *Edward* the VIth. As soon as Admiral *du Quesne* had built two or three Vessels strong enough to bear the violent Shock of the Bomb-Mortar, what prodigious Effect they had in their first Attacks on the *Turkish* Fleet at *Scio*, and against *Algiers* and *Genoa*? I have often wondered that a Means of so much Execution in Mischief, as that Composition called the *Greek Wild-fire* (though I take it to be of *Phœnician* Extraction, the *Tyrians* having often burned *Alexander's* Ships by their Divers under Water, during his Siege of their City) could have grown obsolete and been lost, since it had got into the Hand of Princes. We are sure that *China* had the use of Gun-powder, the Mariner's Compass and Printing long before they were accidentally discovered in *Europe*; and that goes some length in persuading me, that (whatever Use is to be made of the *Mythologick* Stories of *Bacchus* throwing away his golden Shield, and *Hercules*

cules defisting from the Invasion of *India*, on their Father *Jove's* having taken it into his Protection, and defended against them with Thunder and Lightning) the Accounts given us are credible of an Action between *Trajan* and an *Indian* Nation; that Lightning and Thunder from the Ranks of the Enemy carried off whole Bodies with enormous Wounds, and some very near the Emperor's Person, which they knew not how to account for but by a divine Assistance, which gave it the Air of Superstition, so a few *Chinese* great Guns passed for the voice of Heaven. Nor were Fire-Arms more astonishing at first Sight, than common Fire was to the Inhabitants of the *Canaries* on their last Discovery by the *Spaniards*, as also the *Philippian* Islands, those called *los Jordenas* on the Coast of *China*, the *Marian* Islands, according to *Purchas*, *George Hornius de Origine Gentium Americanalium*, *Mr. Locke*, and several Travellers. Many a Man has broke both his Brains and his Fortune by studying too intensely to invent the Philosopher's Stone, the universal *Medicine*, and the universal *Menstruum*, and it is shrewdly to be presumed that not one of them will ever be invented; though in that wrong Pursuit, many noble Discoveries have been made of useful Things, which were not dreamt of, much less investigated by the Students, who have all Reason to say with *Inachus*, *tu non inventa reperta es*; and it is as well known that the Use of the noblest Drugs in

Medicine is owing to mere *Empiricks*. *Archimedes* had a Problem given him to solve by King *Hiero*, how much Gold the Person who made a Crown for him had stolen, and how much Brass he had mixed instead of it, which perplexed him even to a Despair of finding it out, when occasionally at the *Bagnio*, the bathing Tub, being a little too full, ran over on his stepping into it, which immediately furnished the Hint of proving the Quantity of each Metal, by the Increase of the Bulk in Proportion to the Weight, though the People thought him Mad, to see him running home stark naked and all wet, clapping his Hands and bawling out *εὐρηκα* all the Way. And Sir *Isaac Newton's* famous Attraction and Gravitation, according to *Pemberton*, was suggested to him by an Apple which fell on his Head as he sat under the Tree; but he must have been a Mathematician, to make the noble Use he did of it, otherwise all the Fruit in the Orchard might have struck him, without any other Advertisement than that of their Weight and Hardness. Spectacles, Telescopes and Microscopes are but late Discoveries, and though they have received great Improvements, are no doubt still capable of greater, notwithstanding Sir *Isaac Newton's* wonderful new *System of Opticks*, and the Execution of his Principles there laid down in the catoptrical Telescope. *Sanctorius's Medicina Statica* is but of late Observation, though of great Use in the Practice, and Satisfaction in the Theory of Physick;

sick; and Mr. *Hayes* fairly owns in his *Vegetable Staticks*, that after long and hard study, finding himself unable to adjust or even guess at the Proportion of Juices which Plants imbibe and perspire, he gave over the Inquiry in Despair, when some time after he fell at once upon it by mere Accident, a full Account of which, and its Laws (as they are called) or Course of Evacuation, he lays down at large in the ingenious Treatise above-mentioned. The celebrated Dr. *Harvey* frequently declared, that he took the Hint of those Observations and Experiments which produced his Treatise *de Ovario*, from the 24th and 25th Verses of the First Chapter in *Genesis*—*Every creeping thing after its kind*—which has ever since banished æquivocal Generation from the Schools, and that he got his Notion of the Circulation of the Blood from and to the Heart, by the Expression of the *Wheel* as well as *Fountain, Pitcher and Cistern* in the Sixth Verse of the last Chapter in *Solomon's Ecclesiastes*. The antient *Mythologists* attributed every Invention to a God, *Minerva* was called *Ταλαεργός*, and *Apollo* says of himself, *per me concordant Carmina nervis* — *Inventum Medicina meum est*, &c. — and *Cicero* says in the Beginning of the third Book of *Tusculan Questions*—*corporis curandi, tuendique causa quæ sit ars ejus [viz. medicina] atque utilitas, deorum immortalium inventioni consecrata*. — and no doubt *Pythagoras* believed that he owed the Discovery of his famous Problem to the Gods, when
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he offered up an *Hecatomb* to them in Acknowledgment. We need not confine our selves, for the Proof of this Principle, to the Tradition of the *Greeks* and *Romans* only, that of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*, (who were their Masters) that of every Nation who have transmitted any historical Accounts down to us, was the same. *Cæsar* tells us that the *British Druids* held, that some God presided over, and taught them every Art, *Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam Operum atque Artificiorum Initia tradere, Jovem Imperium Cœlestium tenere, Martem Bellum regere*. And as for that wonderful Art of including all possible articulate Sounds within the Compass of a few Letters, (which will not do for musical Sounds, for they are not pronounced, though Tunes can be added to Words, but still they are very different Things) *Cicero* is positive, as quoted before, that it must necessarily have been the Invention and Gift of God to Mankind; and the *Egyptians* deified *Thoth* for communicating, which they called inventing, that noble Discovery; and our *Gothick* Ancestors, though they attributed the Invention to God, deified two Persons for the Share they had in communicating and preserving that inestimable Treasure, as *Olaus Wormius* tells us in the twentieth Chapter of his *Literatura Runica*, according to this Hymn, which he calls *vetustissimum runicum carmen*,

Runasne

*Runasne scis et resolutos Characteres,
 Prægrandes Characteres, prævalidos Characteres
 Quos formarunt Deastri,
 Et Fimbul senex Illuminavit,
 Ac incidit Odinus.*

for it was their Custom to engrave on Rocks such Inscriptions as they were desirous to hand down to Posterity ; and I have been assured by several learned Men of that Country, particularly the present Bishop of *Gottenburg*, that every Province in *Sweden* abounds with old Runick Inscriptions cut deep in the Rocks ; and *Rudbeck* the Elder makes as much Use of these to support the Claim of original Antiquity which he sets up for his Country, as Sir *George Mackenzie* has done of a Chest of Manuscripts which were some time or other at *Ikollumbkill*, to prove that *Scotland* had a Right to forty imaginary Kings from the first nominal *Fergus* to him whom he calls the Second of that Name. *Woden* undoubtedly led a Colony from *Scythia* to *Sweden*, and as the *Scythians* asserted their Country to have been first inhabited after the Flood, for the very strong Reasons produced by *Justin* in the First Chapter and Second Book of his History, that the Renewers of Mankind must have landed there, as it was the highest Ground, consequently first dry on the Waters withdrawing, and they of Course the most antient of all People ; but *Olaus Rudbeck* starts up many Ages after,

after, and arrogates to *Scandinavia* all the Privileges and Antiquities of the Mother-Country, but more than enough of that Matter. Every Invention, every additional Improvement in Husbandry was attributed to a particular God or divine Person, *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Janus*, *Triptolemus*, *Flora*, *Pomona*, *Vertumnus*, *Pales* and a mighty *et cætera*. This Custom multiplied the Number of the *Dii Medioximi* to a prodigious Extent, *Varro* says that *Rome* had thirty thousand of them, though they were rather so many Names of the same Deities *minorum Gentium*, in the different Languages of the Cities and Nations conquered by the *Romans*, whose Practice it was to naturalize and give the Rights of their City to every Name they heard of any Thing worshipped among the People subdued by them; such consummated Politicians they were, and so very comprehensive in their Toleration, no Nation ever exceeding them in it except—, that Seat of absolute Freedom in Thoughts, Words and Actions; where Men are not only left at perfect Liberty to believe or not, just as they please, but to deny and revile any thing that is called Religion, and its Author also; where there is but one small necessary Restraint laid on the most petulant Tongue, not to vilify the Government, or blaspheme the Ministres, for if the Characters of such be wounded (the true *Etymology* of the Word Blasphemy) how can the present Peace of the World be preserved, which is the grand Interest of Mankind? As there are
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several Nations, whose Ancestors through some Accident of Poverty and Dispersion losing the Use of Cloaths, have never since been able to recover them; we may conclude, according to the *Socratick* way of Reasoning, that the first Men were instructed in the Art of Cloathing themselves by the Divinity, to whom *Cicero* ascribes it in the first Book of his *Tusculan Questions* lately referred to, — *qui fruges, qui vestitum, qui tecta, qui cultum vitæ, qui presidium contra feras invenerunt.* And, as among all Men (who have retained the Use of Speech and Reason) however dispersed and distant from each other in Time or Scituation, over the Face of the whole Earth, there is a Notion of Religion preserved, the whole of which was founded on Sacrifices, and all their Hopes of Pardon placed in the vicarious Punishment of another Creature in their stead; and as there is not any thing in that which the mere human Reason could suggest, any more than there could have been an innate Idea of it, notwithstanding its Universality; *Socrates* would conclude, that such an universal Agreement in Practice, of that for which no other possible motive can be assigned, or mutual Concert subsist, is a demonstrative Proof and authentick Record of a primitive Institution given to the first Family, from whom all the other Families of the World are derived, and from thence handed down to their common Posterity. And it seems highly credible, that the Skins of those Beasts ap-
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pointed for Atonement, made the first Clothing, before *Pallas* instructed them in the Arts of the Loom. It will always appear to a considering Person, that Invention is not the Province of Reason, that its Office is to compare such Things as are laid before it, to judge, conclude, and infer ; to perform which justly, it must have been taught the Use of Words, and the due Exercise of its own Faculties, as *Plutarch* very justly observes, in his Treatise of the Sagacity of Animals, λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἐγγίνεται Φύσει, σπουδαῖος δὲ λόγος καὶ τέλειος ἐκ ἐπιμελείας καὶ διδασκαλείας. Vol. 2. p. 962. *Edit. Steph. Paris 1624.* the rational Capacity is natural, but moral and perfect Reason is obtained by Industry and Education. But this Fundamental Truth, (the Imbecility of human Nature left to it self, and utter Incapacity to supply any of its many Wants either of Mind or Body out of its own Stock without foreign Help) increased the Names of titular Gods to a prodigious Degree. Then the *Egyptians* searching to find some Representation of a divine Attribute in all the Productions of the infinite first Cause of all Beings, there was hardly an Insect in which they did not imagine to have found it, whom they therefore honoured with a relative Worship, nay, at last they extended it to Vegetables also, and brought their Gardens into their Temples. Thus, as Men began with Sacrifices by Appointment, they rose by Degrees in the Numbers and Kinds of the Beasts they offered,

offered, and at last so high as to take in Men, the most honourable Persons, whom they devoted sometimes by whole *Hecatombs* to avert national Calamities. Afterwards the *Egyptians*, instead of using Sacrifices of Victims, as Means and Conditions of Forgiveness, translated them into Objects of Worship, called them their Gods, and whoever offended any of them in the least, was held a sacrilegious Monster, and an Abomination to the *Egyptians*, *Porrū et cape nefas violare et frangere morſu*. From all these Observations and many more I infer, that there never was, nor can possibly ever be, an Original positive Error: Error being a Deviation from and a Corruption of Truth, by Addition, Subſtraction or both, although a perverse Mind may force it ſelf to deny any Thing, and belye its own Sentiments. Mongrels are real Animals though they do not conſtitute a Species, and a male and female Parent are as neceſſary for the Production of a Mule, as for that of the fineſt Horſe in *Arabia*, whoſe Pedigree they can run as far backwards, as a *Welſh* Herald could do *Owen Glendower's*. It is the ſame with imaginary Mongrels as with real ones, a *Griffin* as neceſſarily requires the Pre-exiſtence of an *Eagle* and a *Lyon* to form its Shapes, as any Man does that his Father and Mother ſhould have been born before him. A *Centaur* not only requires the Ideas of Man and Horſe to be known, in order to tack them together in his Compo-

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sition, but I think the first Mistake about it very natural, when a great Body of Cavalry ran down the Army of the *Lapithæ* at the first Charge, who therefore took them for the same Creature united by Nature, and not only occasionally so by the acquired Art of Riding; the poor Wretches of *Mexico* and *Peru* thought just the same Way, and could not, I imagine, conceive otherwise. So a Painter, as *Horace* says, may draw a Man's Head on a Horse's Neck, and a Poet make a *Pegasus* by adding a Pair of Wings, a *Tryton* or *Syren* by a Fish's Tail, or any other motly Device, *undique collatis Membris*, for the most wild or absurd Creature of the Imagination must have its constituent Materials ready at hand to work it up with. It is the same with notional Errors, there must be Principles furnished to make Use of, in the right adjusting which, Truth and sound Reason chiefly consist; as Error, and what we call Fiction, does in an improper Mixture, and blending them awkerdly together. Nor is it difficult to trace what Truth is in it up to its Fountain Head, into how many cross Channels soever Error has led it astray, or whatever Filth it has contracted, by wandering through so much Ordu-
 re, for it is proverbial in every Language, that the Corruption of the very best things is always the worst; thus the Administration of what is called Law in any Country in the World, did originally flow from *Astrea* herself,

self, though she has long since been forced to abandon the Earth, and quit the Government of it to her Coadjutor, or Guardian, who was once her Pupil and Deputy, but now rules in its own Right, though in her Name ; in this more complaisant than the latter Mayors of the Palace.

It is now Time to produce Mr. *Locke's* Testimony against his Authority, which is so decisively urged for Ideas of Sensation, being the only Inlets of Human Knowledge ; and I shall afterwards shew from Mr. *Locke*, how so acute a Reasoner came to fall into this Inconsistency with himself and with the Truth. First then, every Argument, which Mr. *Locke* useth to prove that there are no innate Ideas, serves as strongly against the Possibility of Men's attaining Language, which is declarative of Ideas and introductive of Notions without teaching. *L. 1. c. 11. §. 23. p. 12.* of his Essay concerning Human Understanding, Fourth Edition printed by *Churchil*, 1700, he hath these Words. *For, first it is evident, they have learned the Terms and their Signification, neither of which was born with them. But this is not all the acquired Knowledge in the Case : The Ideas themselves, about which the Proposition is, are not born with them no more than their Names, but got afterwards—we by Degrees get Ideas and Names.—When Children have by repeated Sensations, got Ideas fixed in their Memories, they begin, by Degrees, to learn the*
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Use of Signs, and when they have got the Skill to apply the Organs of Speech to the framing of articulate Sounds, they begin to make Use of Words, to signify their Ideas to others; These verbal Signs they sometimes borrow from others, and sometimes make themselves, [which, by the bye, is only mistaking and pronouncing ill] as one may observe among the new and unusual Names Children often give to things in their first Use of Language. In the same Book, Chapter and Page, Section 10. We have Reason to imagine, that they [viz. Brutes] have not the Faculty of abstracting or making general Ideas, since they have no Use of Words, or any other general Signs. L. 2. c. 22. at Number three, towards the beginning of §. 9. p. 156— which is the most usual by explaining Actions we never saw, or Notions we cannot see.—

Had Mr. Locke attended sufficiently to this Expression of his own, he had perceived, and consequently made a great Distinction between Ideas and Notions, and the different Way of coming by them; and that the History of past or Relation of distant Actions is knowable only by Words as Notions. But though Mr. Locke has here, and in some other Places, which I shall quote presently, acknowledged the Difference between Ideas and Notions, yet in very many Places he uses the two Terms indiscriminately for each other very improperly, I will give you one palpable Instance of it (besides his talking of Ideas of Spirits

Spirits and Abstractions) in the fourth Chapter of the second Book he says, *by which Means we get the Idea of Space both from Sight and Touch.* And in the fifth Chapter, he says, *the Ideas by more than one Sense are of Space, &c.* —Whereas by his own Way of proving it, he makes as discursive an Inference as can be from solid Matter and Motion, which, rightly considered, shews Space to be a Notion and not an Idea. We have an Idea of a solid Body both from Sight and Touch, we can see a Body move, we can measure the Distance between two Bodies, and we infer that Bodies must have Room to be and move in; but we neither see nor feel this same Thing called Space. I am far from denying the Reality of it. I allow the Justness of the Conclusion, that all Bodies are and move in somewhat, and Space is as good a Word for that nominal Something as any other, if they would add the proper Epithet of empty to it, as good as *Vacuum*, which was the old Term for it, or as *Cicero* expresses it in more polite *Latin*, *Infinitem Inane*; *Infnita Vacuitas*; nay, I cannot see why Nothing might not stand for a Term to represent it properly enough, since its whole Use, its very Essence consists in absolute Non-Resistance, and I believe you will hardly find that the Word *Spatium* is used by any Classic Writer, but as relative to Bodies. What its Nature or Properties are is not at all my present Business to determine; but it is very plain, that

that it is not the Object of any Sense; pray of what Sense is it the Object? Can there be an Idea of Sensation without a sensible Object? Its being an Intelligible Consequence drawn from Premises will not help him much. Bodies are said to occupy, fill or take up Place, to the Exclusion of other Bodies while they continue in it; and I do not see why a particular Body should not be said to constitute Place, and this pass for its Description at least, *Locus est Occupantis*, in a Sense as proper as that wherein it is allowed an *Axiom* for the Right of the first Possessor; for it does not support Bodies as the Earth does Houses, Animals, Trees, or any thing else, nor hold them as Vessels do Liquor, but inanimate Bodies owe their respective Situations and Revolutions to their own Gravitation, (*ponderibus librata suis*) proportionably to their Quantity, Solidity, and that original projectil Force with which they were thrown off into Motion; so that Place and Space seem to me to be Modifications resulting from the Rest, Motion and Distance of Bodies. A Man born with a Cataract on both Eyes, and Sight given him at full Age, would soon determine the Question, and convince you that Space is not a sensible Object, by the Pains it would cost you to make him conceive Distance; and that the *Sun* was not as near him, and as much within his Reach as the Fire in the Chimney; a School-boy's Kite, with a Lanthorn and Candle

dle at its Tail, has, no doubt on't, often passed with Folks, not far off, for a *Star*. In Page 235, Mr. Locke calls Language a *voluntary Imposition*. P. 237. *A perfectly arbitrary Imposition*. P. 247. L. 3. C. 4. §. 11. *Simple Ideas are only to be got by those Impressions, Objects themselves make on our Minds, by the proper Inlets appointed to each Sort. If they are not received this Way, all the Words in the World, made Use of to explain or define any of their Names, will never be able to produce in us the Idea it stands for. For Words being Sounds, can produce in us no other simple Ideas, than of those very Sounds; nor excite any in us but by that voluntary Connexion between them and the Ideas we had made them stand for*, P. 255. L. 3. C. 5. §. 12. *Conformable, I say, to this we find that their Names lead our Thoughts to the Mind, and no farther. When we speak of Justice or Gratitude, we frame to our selves no imagination of any Thing existing, which we would conceive; but our Thoughts terminate in the abstract Ideas of those Virtues, and look not farther as they do, when we speak of an Horse, or Iron, whose specifick Ideas we consider not as barely in the Mind, but as in Things themselves, which afford the original Patterns of those Ideas. But in mixed Modes, at least the most considerable Parts of them, which are moral Beings, we consider the original Patterns, as being in the Mind; and to those we refer for the distinguishing of particular Beings under Names. And hence I think it is, that*

these Essences of the Species of mixed Modes are by a more particular Name called Notions, as by a peculiar Right, appertaining to the Understanding, P. 280. L. 3. C. 9. §. 1. 2. Mr. Locke makes a double Use of Words, the first for the recording our own Thoughts—Secondly, the other for the communicating of our Thoughts to others: Whereby, as it were, we talk to our selves, those Thoughts which are recorded in our Memories.—P. 281. L. 3. C. 9. §. 4. Now since Sounds have no natural Connexion with our Ideas, but have all their Signification from the arbitrary Imposition of Men.—And the Section immediately following has these Words, Words having naturally no Signification, the Idea [I think that Notion ought to be added at least, according to his own Rule, quoted from the twelfth Section of the fifth Chapter of the third Book, P. 255.] which each stands for, must be learned and retained by those, who would exchange Thoughts, &c.—With Mr. Locke's good Leave, and by Mr. Locke's own Authority, I do assert over again in his Words taken from P. 247. L. 3. C. 4. §. 11. that simple Ideas are only to be got by those Impressions Objects themselves make—if they are not received this Way, all the Words in the World made use of to explain, or define any of their Names, will never be able to produce in us the Idea it stands for; for Words being Sounds, can produce in us no other simple Ideas than of those very Sounds, nor excite any in us but by that voluntary Connexion between them
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and the Ideas we had made them stand for. I have quoted this twice, and if Mr. Locke had considered it as often, besides such other Quotations as I have taken from him, and ten times as many to the same Purpose, which, I could have taken, he had not continued to assert, that Ideas of Sensation were our only Source and Magazine of Knowledge ; he would, he must have allowed Notions their own Inlet or Conduit Pipes of Words through the whole Essay, as well as in the Quotation last produced for the second time, and P. 255. L. 3. C. 5. §. 12. also quoted before. I shall therefore add but a very few Proofs more from Mr. Locke, for the Truth against his own Hypothesis, P. 283. L. 3. C. 9. §. 9. For if we will observe how Children learn Languages, we shall find, that to make them understand what the Names of simple Ideas or Substances stand for, People ordinarily shew them the Thing, whereof they would have them have the Idea, and then repeat to them the Name that stands for it, as White, Sweet, Milk, Sugar, Cat, Dog. But as for mixed Modes, especially the most material of them, moral Words, the Sounds are usually learned first, and then to know what complex Idea they stand for, they are either beholden to the Explication of others, or (which happens for the most Part are left to their own Observation and Industry ; which being little laid out in the Search of the true and precise Meaning of Names, these moral Words are in most Men's Mouths, little more

than bare Sounds; or when they have any, it is for the most Part but a very loose and undetermined, and consequently obscure and confused Signification. Mr. Locke in some other Places, calls moral Words and Notions mere Creatures of the Understanding—as having no Archy-Types—no original, standing Patterns—but what they receive from the Mind—and that very arbitrarily. It appears plainly to me, that the grand Merit of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning human Understanding, with a certain Faction who have got the Word *Philosophy* by Rote, doeth not consist, in any of the valuable Things contained in it, but in a few of these faulty, unguarded Passages, into which the ingenious Author fell, by following his *Hypothesis* too fast; from which they fondly hope to furnish themselves with a Set of Principles forsooth, to remove the Foundations of true Morality; and to derive all Religion, Virtue and Government from themselves, without the least Tincture of any extrinseck Aid from Learning, Culture or Authority. I could produce an hundred Passages in that Essay, where Mr. Locke asserts the direct contrary, but I will be satisfied to produce a very few for a Specimen. L. 1. C. 3. SS. 6. P. 17. But yet I think it must be allowed, that several Moral Rules, may receive from Mankind, a very general Approbation, without either knowing or admitting the true Ground of Morality; which can only be the Will and Law of a God, who sees Men in the Dark, has in his
Hand

Hand Rewards and Punishments, and Power enough to call to Account the proudest Offender. And P. 20. SS. 12. But what Duty is, cannot be understood without a Law, nor a Law be known or supposed without a Law-maker, or without Reward and Punishment; so that it is impossible, that this, or any other practical Principle should be innate, i. e. be imprinted on the Mind as a Duty, without supposing the Ideas of of God, of Law, of Obligation, of Punishment, of a Life after this, innate. Lib. 2. C. 28. SS. 8 P. 195. This [viz. the Law of God] is the only true Touch-stone of mortal Rectitude.— P. 219. SS. 17, That Law the Standard of Virtue and Vice. P. 274. SS. 43. The complex Ideas of Modes, are referred sometimes to Archetypes in the Minds of other intelligent Beings—and L. 4. C. 7. SS. 11. P. 359.—'Tis from Revelation we have received it, and without Revelation these Maxims had never been able to help us to it, &c. So far from it, that we never should have had these Moral Words in our Mouths without Revelation; and if their Signification be in too many Men's Minds, loose, undetermined, obscure and confused, that is altogether owing to the want of sufficient Instruction, which is as indispensibly required to make moral Entities Objects of the Understanding (and therefore they cannot possibly be the Creatures of it) as proper Object are to produce Ideas of Sensation, by striking the respective Senses appointed to receive them. But to return to our first Subject

ject from this, which if a Digression seemed to me a necessary one. P. 301. L. 3. C. 11. §. 1. *Speech being the great Bond that holds Society together, and the common Conduit, whereby the Improvements of Knowledge are conveyed from one Man and one Generation to another, Mr. Locke uses the Expression of Conduit-Pipes for Language to convey Notions, mixed Modes or moral Words from one Man to another in very many Places; nay, he asserts their Use even in Thinking, for P. 302. L. 3. C. 11. §. 5. This Inconvenience (says he) in an ill Use of Words, Men suffer in their own private Meditations, &c. P. 304. §. 8. last Line,——if Men would speak intelligibly even to themselves alone.——* I think that Mr. Locke hath spoken home enough to the Point for which I have produced him, so very home and full, that I should have been astonished at his persisting in his inviolable Attachment to the Senses and their Ideas, did I not consider the all-commanding Force of *Hypothesis*, which is able to overlook, or fancy that it can reconcile the most glaring Contradictions, and that the ingenious Author himself has let us into a great Part of the true Reason of it, P. 288. L. 3. C. 9. §. 21. Here Mr. Locke says, *I must confess then, that when I first began this Discourse of the Understanding, and a good While after, I had not the least Thought that any Consideration of Words was at all necessary to it.—But when I began to examine the Extent and Certainty of our Knowledge, I found it had so near a Con-*
nexion

*nexion with Words—that they seemed scarce separable.—Words interpose between our Understanding and the Truth, like the Medium through which visible Objects pass.—Language the Instrument of Knowledge.—*Mr. Locke must not only have retracted an *Hypothesis* explicitly, which he had been many Years contriving, and communicating in Conversation; and in 1687, he published his Scheme in a small Volume in *French*, and printed it in *Holland*; and he must have pulled down the whole Fabrick, to have raised a new one of quite another Model in its stead. Against this, almost all the Affections of the human Mind protested, Pride and Concern for his Character, paternal Indulgence and unwillingness to throw down at once the Work of above half a Life towards the latter End of it. It was beginning a new Course of Study in one's old Age; so he thought he solved the Matter tolerably, by treating Words civilly when they came in his Way, and allowing them occasionally their full Scope and Office in conveying Knowledge to the human Mind, and that this would be sufficient to keep the Peace between them; whereas, he hath really overthrown the Doctrine of the Senses being the sole Inlet of Knowledge, more effectually than he has done that of innate Ideas, even in the Sense he took them, and has opened a most spacious Avenue through the Mediation of Words, by which, much the greatest, much the most valuable

luable Part of our Knowledge arrives at us; all indeed that deserves the Name of Knowledge among Men; to which, even *Sextus Empiricus* assents, and produces the Authority of *Democritus* for it, notwithstanding the common Opinion that the *Scepticks* believed nothing, which would be full as impossible as the *Stoical Apathy*; they had heaped up all the Instances they could think on, of the Fallibility of each of the Senses, and they often went too far in that Road; but several of their best Writers allowed the Certainty of some intellectual Truths drawn from proper Principles; but it is no Part of my Task now, and probably never will be, to write a Vindication of any particular *Pyrrhonist*, or a *Dissertation* to prove it possible to represent the *Hypothesis*, as not altogether irrational, on its Principles taken in their best Light.

Had Mr. *Locke* fallen on the Consideration of Language, and its several necessary Uses, to name our Ideas, to receive, record, recal for our own Meditation, and communicate Notions from one Man and one Generation to another; had he soon enough known, and attended to the Sense of a remarkable Parenthesis, which he has inserted in P. 276. L. 3. C. 6. §. 51. in these Words (*especially the Beginners of Languages, if we can imagine any such*) he had not only avoided all Mistakes, and there are some in it, but had also made that celebrated Book much more perfect and useful than ever

ever it was represented by its greatest Admirers; and I heartily lament that he did not perceive *the near Connection between our Knowledge and Words*, so near that they seem scarce separable, early enough to have taken Language in, and given it a Place from the Beginning among the Inlets of our intellectual Improvement, the Conduit-Pipe of our Knowledge; his fine Genius would have sent it out into the World the most finished Piece that could be wished, when he was able to make so much of it with the Senses only; or wherever he brought in Words, it was not only inconsistent with, but utterly destructive of his Foundation Principle, of his Grand *Hypothesis*, that our Senses were the only Inlets, and Ideas of Sensation the only Materials of all our Science, of all that we know, of all that we can be taught. I had much rather have had Cause to admire Mr. *Locke's* Performance, than to point out any Defects in it, I could lay my Finger on some of them, and shew that every one of them was occasioned by not considering Language all along as the Conduit Pipe of Knowledge; but he has taken Notice of it so often occasionally, and then asserted it so warmly, and proved it so strongly, that I hope, Sir, you think by this time, that I have kept my Word as to what I promised in Mr. *Locke's* Name, and that you will allow him to be a good Voucher for me. And I hope that you will agree with me in

this too, to take in the ingenious Author's later Discovery of Words (which he owns Page 288. L. 3. C. 9. §. 21.) to correct the Mistakes and supply the Defects of an imperfect System, rather than to set his own riper Notions and more just Observations in Battle-array against the Tenour of the Work, and to overturn absolutely a most favourite *Hypothesis*. I have long observed that there is no maintaining half a Truth, either the Portion sustained will be given up in the Dispute, or the whole must be assumed with an ill Grace, when one has been driven to retreat into it for shelter; therefore let us allow Language to pass for one of Mr. Locke's Inlets of Knowledge, and add it to the other Inlets, which is the Design of Nature, and I think I have proved that it was so of this Author also.

If Language be not only expressive of Ideas, but *the Conduit Pipe by which Notions are conveyed from one Man and one Generation to another*, and that we cannot think, as Mr. Locke elegantly words it, *speak intelligibly to ourselves without it*; it seems to me a necessarily resulting Corollary, that could Men have invented Words (which I can by no Means grant) yet they could not have invented a Language, but only a few Words to call their Ideas of Sensation by, which are always prior to Words in every Man. Nor would such Words or Names for mere Ideas of Sensation be of any Signification, since the true Use and Value

Value of Words is to convey scientifick Notions to us, and to carry on the Commerce of Knowledge between different Men and the different Generations of Mankind. Letters are the grammatical Elements of Words; and, as such, they are necessary for a Scholar to begin the Study of a dead Language; yet Words are as much older than Letters, as the Art of Writing is than that of Printing; wherefore I doubt whether any Man ever set himself to learn a new Language before Letters were found out; I am sure no Scholar ever did, for why or how should he do it? Should a Man forget all Language, which is possible and perhaps some Instances might be found of it, no doubt the Words would carry off those Notions which they had formerly conveyed to them. Have you not known many who had made some Acquaintance with the Sciences in their younger Years; who in some Years after their leaving the University, have lost the Terms and all the little Philosophy they had learnt there? I will not deny that a Set of Men might frame a new Language, but not without having previously a Language to form it by, and I should think also, Writing, to mark down and retain for the use of their Memory, such new Signs as they agreed were to stand for the old ones.

As all our Knowledge was conveyed to us by Words, and that we could not have received it otherwise, that we cannot exchange

Thoughts with others, record and consequently recal our own, without Words; therefore Memory begins not till a good stock of Words have been laid in, which is another good Reason why the Antients reckoned Memory the Mother of the Muses, as we have already quoted from *Plutarch's* Essay on Education; and Words must be indispensibly necessary for Recollection, Reflection, and every Mode of Thinking and Conversation with our selves or others; sometimes in Poetry we cannot recover the Notion without the very Words we received it in, and that in other Instances than those exceeding rare ones of the true Sublime. Poetry seems to be more than a different Dialect in the same Language, some Pieces of it may be reckoned a different Language from Prose in every Tongue, especially the *Italian*, and is to be learned both to understand and utter, after the same Manner, but with much greater Difficulty. After a Youth can construe *Corderius*, *Quintus Curtius* and *Justin*, he cannot reach a Line of *Horace*. *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Lycophron*, *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides* and *Aristophanes* are new Languages to a Man who yet can read *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Zenophon* with some Pleasure. And after a Man can talk fluently and properly on many subjects, he is no more capable of poetical Compositions in his own, than he is of writing in another Language which he doth not speak, without a new laborious Apprenticeship under the Muses, and the Favour of *Apollo* to boot. Nay a
Man

Man may excel in one sort of Poetry, and be utterly incapable of performing tolerably in any other ; I doubt much whether *Virgil* was good at the *Lyric* or *Saphic* ; I am sure *Horace*, who placed so much Glory in the *Lyric* Style and Measure, acknowledges frankly that he was not able to arrive at the Dignity of the *Epic*, though he could throw out, *Sermoni communi priora, non ut si solvas postquam Discordia tetra Belli ferratos Postes Portasque recludit.* *Longinus* says, that no Words can express the perfect Sublime, but those which have done it, without debasing much of its Lustre and Majesty ; therefore no excellent Poem was ever well translated, or ever perhaps can be, even into a finer Language, with equal Energy and Beauty. It is said, that *Arabic* is a more copious and magnificent Language than *Greek*, and the *Arabians* were once great Translators, and made a furious but short Effort for universal Monarchy in the Sciences as well as in Dominion, yet I cannot believe that *Homer* would ever have made so noble a Figure in *Arabic*, as in his own *Ionic*. What wretched things are all the Translations of *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Horace* ? may they not rather be deemed Travestees ? *Vaugelas* spent as many Years as *Alexander* lived in translating his History writ by *Quintus Curtius*, of whose Style he falls as far short, as he does of the Grandeur and flaming Enterprizes of the other. I was much pleased with an Observation

servation of a judicious Friend of mine, who was
 the greatest Master of the *Roman* classical Style
 both in Prose and Verse I ever knew, but un-
 acquainted with the *Greek*; he told me that
 the common literal Translation of *Homer* for
 the Use of Schools, the finest *Greek* into the
 baldest *Latin*, let him more into *Homer's*
 Thought and native Majesty, than any of the
Italian, French, or English Translations of him
 whether in Verse or Prose: He said that their
 Tinsel Embellishments appeared to him like
 accoutring some mighty Hero with a Child's
 Bibb over his Armour, and drawing him at
 the Head of his Army with a Rattle in his
 Hand. It is easy to imitate and out-do
Statius and *Claudian*, but nothing so flat as
 the Poor mimicking of *Lucretius* and *Virgil's*
 Phrases in the *Profusiones Academicae* of *Famia-
 nus Strada*. It is pretty much the same with
 the best Performances in Oratory; I never saw
 a tolerable Translation of *Demosthenes*, I never
 expect to see one, nor hardly of *Cicero*. There
 are more Jargons and Styles in every Nation,
 than there are supposed to be national Lan-
 guages in the World, which perhaps too are
 not near so many as they are thought to be,
 but only different Dialects and Compositions
 of a very few original Tongues; but not one
 in every hundred Millions of Men has yet hit
 on the true Sublime in Verse or Prose. No
 Man ever did or can understand all the Words
 in any Language, there are such an infinite
 Number

Number of topical Idioms, of technical Terms and Phrase, that contains so much of the Principles of their several Sciences, Arts and Professions, which require such an *Encyclopædia* as no Man could compass. Notwithstanding the Poet's boast of his natural Parts, with his *nascitur non fit*, the Choice and Use of Words cost more Study and Pains than any Art or Science; and Sir *Isaac Newton* will have more Rivals than *Homer*, *Virgil* or *Demosthenes*. Were Language natural it could not alter; and were Notions so, there could not be such an opposite Variety in the Sentiments and Actions of Mankind as we see there is, any more than in their Words. To write in Measure and Rithme, is walking on the high Ropes in Stilts, and with Fetters on their poetick Feet; yet *Ovid* and some others have made themselves able to throw their Thoughts off in Verse as readily as in common Language, at least to pour out many Verses *stans pede in uno*; and every Year will afford you Instances of *Westminster* Scholars, starting up with extempore Epigrams in their Mouths, on any Subject you please to choose for them; and you may meet with several Proofs, in *Meric Casaubon's* Treatise of Enthusiasm, of Men's acquiring by repeated Culture, such a Dexterity in every difficult Matters, as to pass for wonderful and supernatural. *Ovid* had not a greater Facility of Versification in his own Language than *Joshua Barnes* had in *Homeric* Verse,

Verse, so far as Words, Measure and Sound went; yet he would make a wretched Mistake who should cry up *Joshua Barnes* for an excellent *Greek* Poet and the Rival of *Homer*: though I would allow a School-boy to reckon him a clever Verse-Wright, which is a better Character than cutting another Man's Poem into Shreds, and then stitching the Scraps together in some miserable Canto; which degrading Metamorphosis requires no small Drudgery to get the Sleight of, perhaps more than it cost the lampooned Poet to spin and work up the original Poem; and yet I doubt not but the Botcher thinks himself a notable Jugler, a very *Circe* the Enchantress who transforms all within Reach into Swine. Every little Anagram or pitiful Acrostick is very difficult to every one at the first Essay, and to Persons of good Taste it would always be next to an impossibility to continue long enough stooping so low as their Work requires, yet what smart Proficients are the true Grovellers at it? But whether in the noblest Kinds of Poetry, or in the Excesses of it which are miscalled so, the more ready and dextrous the Performers are, so much the more Labour, so much the longer Habit and repeated Practice. All Men learn by Words and think in Words, but Poetical Wits think chiefly of Words, and are incessantly musing on the Choice of such, and humming their Arrangement and Disposition in Order to make them
chime

chime in the most melodious *Cadence*, as
Lucretius fairly confesses,

—*Quemvis efferre laborem*
Suadet, et inducit noctes vigilare Serenas
Quarentem dictis quibus et quo carmine—

therefore the true poetic Genius is seldom, if ever, decoyed from the *Pierian Groves*, but carefully guards its Votaries from becoming Men of Importance in the Service of a noisy, awkward World; or of some rugged unpolite Study, to which *Pedants* have annexed the formal Name of Learning, which they mortally hate and despise, with all those who take Pains to excel therein. I have known some who were happy in a flowing Style, which seemed perfectly easy and natural, but on growing more careless, have writ in a forced costive, and confused Manner, yet have still continued to write on and publish. And no doubt there are Multitudes who soon lost their poetic Facility in the useful, dull, professional Life; and that there are sober Men in the World who cannot write a Verse now, though they gained the Prize at *Westminster* forty Years ago. Some of my former School-Fellows have condoled with me, that all of us having writ Lines by the Hundred, of six Feet in *Latin* and of five *English* ones in Rithme, if such Things may be called Verses, but that now, not one of us could write any thing

O

of

of the Kind, nor confine our Thoughts to *Dactyls* and *Spondees* which were once so familiar to us ; but I am so peculiarly unhappy, that my Avocations began very soon after my Admission at *Oxford*, (where I vainly hoped to have finished a Course of Studies) from whence and the Business of it, I was violently torn by a great Number, and Variety of Troubles, which have continued me under Banishment even since, at a vast distance from the Muses and their Train; and have persecuted me with such unrelenting Severity, that they have equally incapacitated me from becoming capable to pursue, much less discharge any other Part in Life than a close Attendance on my own Misfortunes of every Sort, with an empty Purse struggling incessantly to buy a little Justice against an infinite Series of Villainy and Oppression, and instead of spending some Years at the Temple in a Course of most fruitful Studies, I have been confined to wear out my whole Life in *Westminster-Hall*. Poets and Orators, of all Men, write, each for his own Mouth, and this makes the prodigious Difference between their Styles, between the smooth, gliding softness of *Ovid*, and the thundering false sublime of *Claudian*, who might pass at this time a Day for the most sonorous Poet that ever writ in the Language of *Martial Rome*, if *Perfius* had not preserved some magnificent Lines of *Nero's*, so truly imperial, that at first Bounce they

they skip over the low sublime, and leave it at a vast Distance behind them. To be sure the very sound of *Archilochus's* fatal *Jambics* was harsh to the gentle, insinuating Musick of *Sappho*, or *Anacreon*. Mentioning Greek Poets brings into my Mind what *Bellonius*, *Purchas* and *Brerewood* say of that Language at present, that there are yet about fourteen Towns in the *Morea*, the Inhabitants, whereof are called *Zacones* [for *Lacones*] that speak the antient Greek; as also that in the Neighbourhood of *Heraclea* in *Anatolia* the pure Greek is yet retained. What a Loss it is to Letters, that in so long a Time as since the Conquest of the Greek Empire by the *Turks*, which revived the Study of the Greek Language in the *Western Europe*, no Prince has been at the Expence of sending a score of Men as well skilled in the learned Languages as our Age affords, (the Salary and Perquisites of one Royal Mistress would have sufficed abundantly for it and for the Purchase of store of Manuscripts besides) to reside for some time in both Countries, and perhaps in some others which they might discover on Inquiry! There is a District of some Parishes in *Apulia* which retains a sort of Greek for the Language of the Place to this Day; for you know, that the *Exarchate* in the North of *Italy* continued under the Obedience of the Greek Emperors, long after other Sovereignities were set up in all the Middle Provinces, and *Magna Græcia*

continued under that Obedience much longer; therefore there is such a Mixture of *Hellenisms* remaining among them as to spoil the *Italian* even of *Lombardy*. Such a Set of learned Travellers might clear up several Points of more than mere Criticism, as what is the true Import and Use of the two *Aorist Tenses*; as also of those little Particles to which our Ignorance has boldly given the Name of Expletives; and to decide the Controversy about those inconsistent Things called *Accents*, which exact a Pronunciation of the Vowels in Prose, diametrically opposite to that in Verse, which makes a sort of false Quantity in Prose contrary to the reputed long and short E and O; and lastly, if they have any thing of Modulation, a raising and lowering the Voice, a sort of Chanting, instead of only laying a Stress on that Syllable over which an Accent is marked, whether it be Circumflex, Acute or Grave.

Mr. *Locke* has truly affirmed, as already quoted, that all the Words in the World cannot convey an Idea of Sensation to a Man who never had it. Nay even where Art makes a great Part of the Thing to be known, no Words can supply what is sensible in it, so as to lay its Idea fairly before the Imagination; as you may observe in *Felibien's* two Schemes of *Pliny's* Country-house, very different from each other, though both drawn from the same Description: And I dare affirm, that if an
hundred

hundred Architects were set to the same Task, each of them would give us a Plan different from all the rest, and from *Pliny's* Country-house. And if *Mr. Locke* be right in this, as he certainly is, and in making *the voluntary, perfectly arbitrary Imposition of Words, the Conduit of Knowledge, the great Bond that holds Society together, the Instrument of Thoughts, by which we record our Notions, and speak intelligibly to ourselves*; If Language, I say, be all this, as it certainly is, then it is as demonstrably true, that Language could not be a Concert, Contrivance or Invention among Men, as that the Effect cannot produce its efficient Cause, or (which comes to the same Point) the necessary Instrument used by the Cause in its Efficiency of that Effect. This I think an *Axiom*, which though it cannot be proved by any Thing plainer than it self, yet it can be illustrated and laid before our Eyes in Instances and Examples. And I think that every Age and Nation, every Man that ever lived in any, every Thing that any Man knows, every Thing that he does not know, the *Greek* and *Barbarian*, the *Attic* flowing Eloquence and *Laconic* sullen thrift of Words, *Mithridates*, with his twenty two Languages, and the *New-Guinea* Savage with none, are all equally Proofs and Instances, as well as what I have quoted from *Mr. Locke*, that the human Mind is a *Tabula rasa*, that any Thing may be writ on it, and that it cannot have
any

any Thing unless it be writ there, but will remain a Blank for ever; that there is a vast Variety of Inscriptions made on it, which shews that the Stuff must be the same, which is capable of receiving equally so many Millions of different Impressions.

Cokchos an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.

No doubt but in many Nations of the World, as well as *Egypt, Greece and Rome*, all sorts of Forms or Impressions have, in some Proportion, been successively received, worn, effaced, renewed and blotted out again, though often for Want of History, the particular *Æras* and Circumstances of all these Revolutions in Arms, Morals, Arts and Sciences are lost to us. I have observed it in some other Subjects that when one lights on the true Principle, it will hold every Particular that can be applied to it, which instead of being an Objection, however it may seem at first, or with what Intent soever produced, rightly considered becomes a Part of the System, an Instance and Proof of it. Thus the immense Variety of Forms proves the Identity of the Materials, that is, that Man is capable of every thing (according to our Way of speaking) in Learning and Knowledge, by artificial Language and Instruction, and of nothing without it.

What

What I have said to you in Obedience to your Commands was always my own Opinion, when I considered how I was taught to speak and know, and I am as much pleased that Mr. *Locke* found himself obliged to take in Words as the Inlet of Notions, as I am really grieved that he did not do it from the Beginning ; because I find the distinguishing of the different Inlets of our Notices to be of Use to me in my Reasoning on most Subjects, and that I am persuaded, his Pen would have given us an elaborate Treatise on the human Understanding. I believe you will hardly desire any more such long Letters as this, which you must read over out of mere Complaisance, since you have made me write it ; but if you should desire another from me on the Application of these Principles to particular Occasions and further Purposes, you may command me, notwithstanding many troublesome Interruptions, which, during my whole Life, have been always breaking in upon the Course of my Studies and Thoughts almost without Intervals, and those very short ones. But you may perceive by this the Power you have over me and how much

I am

Yours, &c.

PHILALETES.